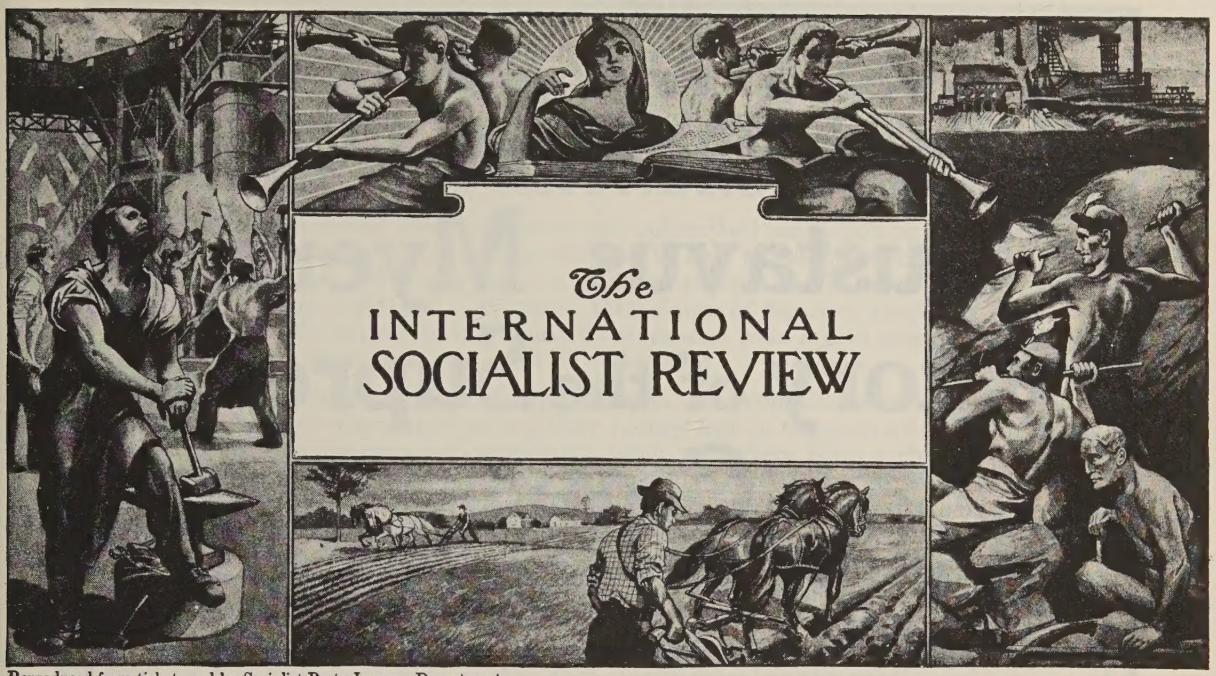
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THE WALKER

BY

ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

Written in His Cell in Essex County Jail, Lawrence, Mass.



I HEAR footsteps over my head all night.
They come and they go. Again they come and again they go all night. They come one eternity in four paces and they go one eternity in four paces, and between the coming and the going there is Silence and the Night and the Infinite.

For infinite are the nine feet of a prison cell, and endless is the march of him who walks between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate, thinking things that cannot be chained and cannot be locked, but that wander far away in the sunlit world, in their wild pilgrimage after destined goals.

Throughout the restless night I hear the footsteps over my head.

Who walks? I do not know.. It is the phantom of the jail, the sleepless brain, a man, the man, THE WALKER.

One—two—three—four: four paces and the wall.

One—two—three—four: four paces and the iron gate.

He has measured the space, he has measured it accurately, scrupulously, minutely, so many feet, so many inches, so many fractions of an inch for each of the four paces.

One—two—three—four. Each step sounds heavy and hollow over my head, and the echo of each step sounds hollow within my head as I count them in suspense and in fear that once, perhaps, in the endless walk, there may be five steps instead of four between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate.

But he has measured the space so accurately, so scrupulously, so minutely, that nothing breaks the grave rhythm of the slow phantastic march.

When all are asleep (and who knows but I when they all sleep?) three things are still awake in the night: the Walker, my heart, and the old clock which has the soul of a fiend, for never, since a coarse hand with red hair on its fingers swung the first time the pendulum in the jail, has the old clock tick-tocked a full hour of joy.

Yet the old clock which marks everything and records everything and to everything sounds the death knell, the wise old clock that knows everything, does not know the number of the footsteps of the Walker nor the throbs of my heart.

For neither for the Walker nor for my heart is there a second, a minute, an hour, or anything that is in the old clock; there is nothing but the night, the sleepless night, and footsteps that go, and footsteps that come and the wild tumultuous beatings that trail after them forever.

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All the sounds of the living beings and inanimate things, and all the voices and all the noises of the night, I have heard in my wistful vigil.

I have heard the moans of him who bewails a thing that is dead and the sighs of him who tries to smother a thing that will not die;

I have heard the stifled sobs of the one who prays with his head under the coarse blanket and the whisperings of the one who prays with his forehead on the hard cold stone of the floor;

I have heard him who laughs the shrill sinister laugh of folly at the horror rampant on the yellow wall and at the red eyes of the nightmare glaring through the iron bars;

I have heard in the sudden icy silence him who coughs a dry ringing metallic cough and wished madly that his throat would not rattle so and that he would not spit on the floor, for no sound was more atrocious than that of his sputum upon the floor;

I have heard him who swears fearsome oaths which I listen to in reverence and in awe, for they are holier than the virgin's prayer;

And I have heard, most terrible of all, the silence of two hundred brains all possessed by one single relentless unforgiving desperate thought.

All this have I heard in the watchful night,

And the murmur of the wind beyond the walls,

And the tolls of a distant bell,

And the remotest echoes of the accursed city,

And the terrible beatings, wild beatings, mad beatings of the one Heart which is nearest to my heart.

All this I have heard in the still night;

But nothing is louder, harder, drearier, mightier, more awful, than the footsteps I hear over my head all night.

Yet fearsome and terrible are all the footsteps of men upon the earth, for they either descend or climb.

They descend from little mounds and high peaks and lofty altitudes, through wide roads and narrow paths, down noble marble stairs and creaky stairs of wood, and some go down to the street, and some go down to the cellar, and some down to the pits of shame and infamy, and still some to the glory of an unfathomable abyss where there is nothing but the staring white stony eyeballs of Destiny.

And again other footsteps climb. They climb to life and to love, to fame, to power, to vanity, to truth, to glory, and to the gallows: to everything but Freedom and the Ideal.

And they all climb the same roads and the same stairs others go down; for never, since man began to think how to overcome and overpass man, have other roads and other stairs been found.

They descend and they climb, the fearful footsteps of men, and some drag, some speed, some trot, some run; the footsteps are quiet, slow, noisy, brisk, quick, feverish, mad, and most awful is their cadence to hear for the one who stands still.

But of all the footsteps of men that either descend or climb, no footsteps are as fearsome and terrible as those that go straight on the dead level of a prison floor from a yellow stone wall to a red iron gate.

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All through the night he walks and he thinks. Is it more frightful because he walks and his footsteps sound hollow over my head, or because he thinks and does not speak?

But does he think? Why should he think? Do I think? I only hear the footsteps and count them. Four steps and the wall. Four steps and the gate. But beyond? Beyond? Where does he go beyond?

He does not go beyond. His thought breaks there on the iron gate. Perhaps it breaks like a wave of rage, perhaps like a sudden flow of hope, but it always returns to beat the wall like a billow of helplessness and despair.

He walks to and fro within the narrowness of this ever storming and furious thought. Only one thought, constant, fixed, immovable, sinister, without power and without voice.

A thought of madness, frenzy, agony, and despair, a hell-brewed thought for it is a natural thought. All things natural are things impossible so long as there are jails in the world—bread, work, happiness, peace, love.

But he does not think of this. As he walks he thinks of the most superhuman, the most unattainable, the most impossible things in the world.

He thinks of a small brass key that turns half around and throws open the iron gate.

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That is all that the Walker thinks, as he walks throughout the night.

And that is what two hundred minds drowned in the darkness and the silence of the night think and that is what I think.

Wonderful is the holy wisdom of the jail that makes all think the same thought. Marvelous is the providence of the law that equalizes all even in mind and sentiment. Fallen is the last barrier of privilege, the aristocracy of the intellect. The democracy of reason has levelled all the two hundred minds to the common surface of the same thought.

I, who have never killed, think like the murderer;

I, who have never stolen, reason like the thief;

I think, reason, wish, hope, doubt, wait like the hired assassin, the embezzler, the forger, the counterfeiter, the incestuous, the raper, the prostitute, the pimp, the drunkard,—I—I who used to think of love and life and the flowers and song and beauty and the ideal.

A little key, a little key as little as my little finger, a little key of shiny brass.

All my ideas, my thoughts, my dreams are congealed in a little key of shiny brass.

All my brains, all my soul, all the suddenly surging latent powers of my life are in the pocket of a white-haired man dressed in blue.

He is powerful, great, formidable, the man with the white hair, for he has in his pocket the mighty talisman which makes one man cry and one man pray, and one laugh, and one walk, and all keep awake and think the same maddening thought.

Greater than all men is the man with the white hair and the little brass key, for no man in the world could compel two hundred men to think the same thought. Surely when the light breaks I shall write an ode, nay, a hymn, unto him, and shall hail him greater than Mohammed and Arbues and Torquemada and Mesmer, and all the other masters of other men's thoughts. I shall call him Almighty for he holds everything of all and of me in a little brass key in his pocket.

Everything of me he holds but the branding iron of contempt and the clamor of hatred for the most monstrous cabala that can make the apostle and the murderer, the poet and the procurer, think of the same key, the same gate and the same exit on the different sunlit highways of life.

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My brother, do not walk any more.

It is wrong to walk on a grave. It is a sacrilege to walk four steps from the headstone to the foot and four steps from the foot to the headstone.

If you stop walking, my brother, this will be no longer a grave; for you will give me back my mind that is chained to your feet and the right to think my own thoughts.

I implore you, my brother, for I am weary of the long vigil, weary of counting your steps and heavy with sleep.

Stop, rest, sleep, my brother, for the dawn is well nigh and it is not the key alone that can throw open the door.

THE NEW SOCIALISM

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

AUTHOR OF "SOCIALISM, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE," "SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM," ETC.

WRITING a decade since in one of our heavy academic quarterlies, Professor Thorstein Veblen, then of the University of Chicago, said: "The only Socialism that inspires hopes and fears today is of the school of Karl Marx." Today with almost equal truth one might paraphrase Veblen thus: The only Socialism that now inspires hopes and fears is of the school of Tom Mann and William D. Haywood.

For the purposes of this discussion we shall call the Marxian Socialism "the Old Socialism," and the Socialism of Mann and Haywood "the New Socialism."

The New Socialism has usually been known in America as Industrial Unionism, while in England and on the continent of Europe it is commonly called Syndicalism. But, no matter what the name it bears or the country in which it appears, it is essentially the same everywhere. Everywhere it inspires fear and dread in the privileged classes, and everywhere it fills the breasts of all the workers, even the lowliest and most unskilled, with revivifying and unquenchable hope.

Whether it startles humanity by a strike of the railway workers in France, or of the dock workers in London, or of the coal miners in England and Wales, or of the heterogeneous and polyglot textile workers of Massachusetts, or by wresting universal suffrage from the reactionary government of Hungary by a general strike in Buda Pesth, its outward phenomena and its inner spirit are the same.

Surely it behooves us all, no matter what our viewpoint, to understand this new portent.

What is this New Socialism? Is it a friend or a foe of the Old? Is it its child? And, if its child, is the child destined to devour its parent?

To answer these questions we must first make sure we know what were and are the salient features of the Old Socialism. Fortunately this is no difficult task, for the main characteristics of Marxian Socialism have remained practically unaltered since they were first publicly stated in the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels in 1847.

Briefly stated, the essential Marxian theses are that human thought, action and institutions are molded and determined by material and economic conditions; that this has caused a constant succession of class struggles to retain or obtain economic advantage; that the last and culminating class struggle is the modern conflict between the class who work for wages and the class who subsist on rent, interest and profits;

and that this struggle can only be ended by the decisive victory of the working class or proletariat, who, once in control of society, will abolish all classes by doing away with their foundation, private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

It will be seen that the most essential points are that it is the function and mission of the wage-working class to become the rulers of society and the abolishers of exploitation of man by man.

Lest it be thought that I have colored my outline of Marxism consciously or unconsciously to suit the purposes of this paper I will quote here an epitome of Marxism from the pen of Gabriel Deville, formerly one of the leaders of Marxian Socialism in France. "History, Marx has shown," wrote Deville, "is nothing but the history of class conflicts. The division of society into classes, which made its appearance with the social life of man, rests on economic relations—maintained by force—which enable some to succeed in shifting on to the shoulders of others the natural necessity of labor.

"Material interests have always been the inciting motives of the incessant struggles of the privileged classes, either with each other, or against the inferior classes at whose expense they live. Man is dominated by the material conditions of life, and these conditions, and therefore the mode of production, have determined and will determine human customs, ethics and institutions—social, economic, political, juridical, etc.

"As soon as one part of society has monopolized the means of production, the other part, upon whom the burden of labor falls, is obliged to add to the labor-time necessary for its own support a certain surplus-labor-time for which it receives no equivalent—time that is devoted to supporting and enriching the possessors of the means of production. As an extractor of unpaid labor, which by means of the increasing surplus-value whose source it is, accumulates every day more and more in the hands of the proprietary class the instruments of its dominion, the capitalist regime surpasses in power all the antecedent regimes founded on compulsory labor.

"But today the economic conditions begotten by this regime, trammeled in their natural evolution by this very regime, inexorably tend to break the capitalist mould which can no longer contain them, and these destroying principles are the elements of the new society.

"The historic mission of the class at present exploited—the proletariat—which is being organized and disciplined by the very mechanism of capitalist production, is to complete the work of destruction begun by the development of social antagonisms. It must, first of all, definitely wrest from its class adversaries the political power—the command of the force devoted by them to preserving intact their economic monopolies and privileges.

"Once in control of the political power it will be able, by proceeding to the socialization of the means of production through the expropriation of the usurpers of the fruits of others' toil, to suppress the present contradiction between collective production and private capitalist appropriation, and to realize the universalization of labor and the abolition of classes." (Foot-note. From Preface to "The People's Marx.")

It will be noted that Deville states that the first act of the proletariat must be to wrest the political power from its class adversaries and then "proceed to the socialization of the means of production." He does not even state that the latter will be accomplished by the use of the political machinery of the state. It would be difficult to cite a quotation from Marx himself that would indorse the notion that the capture of the political power is a condition precedent to social reconstruction. It is true that the Communist Manifesto states in general terms that "every class struggle is a political struggle" and that historic document concludes with a tentative practical program largely political in character, but this is very far from stating that it is purely through politics that the working class are to work out their own salvation or that it is through the medium of parliamentary legislation that the means of life are to become the collective property of the people.

What Marx was ever clear upon was that the Revolution which he foresaw and foretold was to be a revolution from the bottom up, not from the top down; that society was to be saved, not by the privileged, but

by the oppressed; that it was the stone which the builders rejected that was to become the head of the corner. That the proletariat were destined to rule he never doubted. How the proletariat were to gain the dominant power he never ventured to predict in detail.

In the Communist Manifesto he and Engels wrote, in 1847, "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." In 1864, drawing up the declaration of principles of the Workingmen's International, Marx wrote: "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves." This emphasis upon the proletariat as the dynamic agents of Social Revolution is just as marked in Ferdinand Lassalle, the practical founder of the German Socialist Party. In his famous Arbeiter-Programm, after asserting again and again that the workers are to become the rulers of society, he says: "But on all who belong to the working class the duty of taking up an entirely new attitude is imposed, if there is any truth in what I have said.

"Nothing is more calculated to impress upon a class a worthy and moral character than the consciousness that it is destined to become a ruling class, that it is called upon to raise the principle of its class to the principle of the entire age, to convert *its idea* into the leading idea of the whole of society and thus to form this society by impressing upon it its own character.

"The high and world-wide honor of this destiny must occupy all your thoughts. Neither the load of the oppressed, nor the idle dissipation of the thoughtless, nor even the harmless frivolity of the obscure, are henceforth becoming to you. You are the rock on which the Church of the present is to be built.

"It is the lofty moral earnestness of *this* thought which must, with devouring exclusiveness, possess your spirits, fill your minds, and shape your whole lives, so as to make them worthy of it, comformable to it, and always related to it. It is the moral earnestness of this thought which must never leave you, but must be present to your heart in your workshops during the hours of labor, in your leisure hours, during your walks, at your meetings, and even when you stretch your limbs to rest upon your hard couches it is *this* thought which must fill and occupy your minds till they lose themselves in dreams. The more exclusively you immerse yourselves in the moral earnestness of this thought, the more undividedly you give yourselves up to its glowing fervor, by so much the more, be assured, will you *hasten the time* within which our present period of history will have to fulfill its task, so much the sooner will you bring about the accomplishment of this task."

I have chosen to dwell upon the fact that the founders of the Old Socialism always taught that the Social Revolution was to be achieved by the proletariat, was to be from the bottom up, because many apologists of the New Socialism, perhaps led astray by the love of rhetorical antithesis, persist in telling us that "Socialism is a movement from the top down, while Syndicalism is a movement from the bottom up." I would not deny that the conduct of some of the "leaders" of American and English political Socialism do give a certain color of verisimilitude to this facile antithesis; but it is certain that the Socialism expounded by Marx and Engels and Lassalle was as truly as Syndicalism salvation from the bottom.

While it is indisputable that Marx believed in participation in politics by the revolutionary proletariat, it is equally undeniable that in his more scientific writings he was most careful to avoid any prediction as to *how* the proletariat would dispossess the holders of the means of production. In the famous chapter on the "Historical Tendency of Accumulation," in the first volume of *"Das Kapital,"* published in 1867, he vouchsafes us no more than this:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital be-

comes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

"The transformation of scattered private property arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

There you have Marx's view in Marx's own words. If Marx believed that this expropriation was to be effected by the regular routine of parliamentary politics, it is passing strange he was so extremely careful to avoid saying so. In the light of what Marx actually did say, anyone who believes in organizing the proletariat, whether in labor unions or political parties, or both, for the purpose of expropriating the expropriators is justified in calling himself a Marxian Socialist.

In "Value, Price and Profit," a paper read before the Workingmen's International in the seventh decade of the last century, Marx said quite clearly that he recognized the possibility and desirability of the labor unions becoming agencies for social revolution. His exact words were: "Trade unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

The New Socialism might well be defined as a systematic attempt of the labor unions to follow this advice from Karl Marx.

But it cannot be denied that the generally recognized spokesmen of present-day Marxian Socialism tend to lay more and more exclusive stress upon political action or rather parliamentary action; and that they look with no friendly eyes upon the growing power of the New Socialism. Thus, in England, Harry Quelch, the editor of "Justice" and the generally recognized defender of the pure Marxian faith in Great Britain, in the May issue of the "British Socialist," sneers at Syndicalism as "this latest phase of Anarchist anti-Socialism." And Quelch's *bete noire*, J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., leader of the British Labor Party on the floor of the House of Commons, recently contributed to the *Daily Chronicle* (London) a series of articles analysing and denouncing Syndicalism. It is no mean tribute to the power of the New Socialism that it has been able to make Quelch and Macdonald agree on one subject at least.

The beginnings of the tendency in the Socialist movement to lay paramount stress upon political action are readily to be traced to the writings of Friedrich Engels. And it is of interest to note that Engels derived his theory of the State from that great and still inadequately appreciated American scholar, the late Lewis H. Morgan, of Rochester, New York.

It is true that Marx and Engels were approaching a similar theory of the State independently before they had read Morgan's "Ancient Society," for in the Communist Manifesto they wrote: "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." And in his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," which appears to have been written before Engels had read Morgan's "Ancient Society," which appeared almost simultaneously, Engels elaborated this thesis more fully thus: "Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplish this revolution. *The proletariat*

seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.

"But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State." Further on he says even more explicitly: "The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society —this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not 'abolished.' *It dies out.*"

This conception of the State as born to protect economic privilege, as being essentially a class instrumentality, has been generally accepted by Socialists. Logically it simply proves that the overthrow of capitalism is impossible so long as the capitalist class retain complete control of the political power. From this the natural conclusion was drawn that the first objective of the Socialist parties must be the conquest of political power. It does not necessarily follow that this seizure of governmental powers must be effected by the ballot and the routine parliamentary methods. All that the Engels conception of the State implies is that Socialist reconstruction of society cannot be carried out unless the capitalist class are very considerably hampered in their use of political power.

But this conception of Engels remained an unproved hypothesis until Morgan demonstrated the existence of organized communities, possessing no coercive public power, among the North American Indians and the pre-Homeric Greeks and others. Engels was quick to see the tremendous importance of Morgan's discoveries. In 1884 he published his "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," frankly basing his work upon that of Morgan.

While there are passages in "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" that indicate that Engels regarded the State as the probable instrument of expropriation and social transformation, it is doubtful if he continued to hold that view. In the "Origin of the Family," written a decade later, he said: "Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It can and will never be anything else but that in the modern State. But that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer of universal suffrage reaches its boiling point among the laborers, they as well as the capitalists will know what to do." And a decade later still, in writing a preface for a reprint in German of one of Marx's historical studies, he said that since the Paris Commune it was impossible for us longer to cherish the illusion that the proletariat could seize upon the machinery of the bourgeois state and use it unmodified for revolutionary purposes.

Certainly Marx's view that the State, like all other human institutions, is the creature of economic conditions, comports ill with the notion of many of the modern followers of Marx that the State can be used to alter fundamentally economic conditions.

The Marxian position would appear to be that the proletariat are destined to achieve the Social Revolution by abolishing private ownership of the means of life; that they cannot do this so long as political power remains wholly in the hands of their opponents; and that the Labor Unions may and should play an important role in effecting this social transformation.

The New Socialists, whether in France, England or America, would all subscribe cheerfully to these doctrines, though many of them would hasten to explain that the ballot is not the only means by which political power may be won.

Why then is there so much friction between the accredited leaders of Socialism and the New Socialism? Because there have been in the course of years accretions to the Marxian doctrine. The Marxian doctrine that Socialists must hamper the capitalists in their employment of the powers of government has grown into the doctrine that the Social Revolution can be effected solely by parliamentary methods. This growth has been natural and largely unconscious on the part of those who have been affected by it. It magnifies the importance and role of the elected person and the

Intellectual. To those who have come very naturally to look upon themselves as the leaders of the Socialist Movement, the new doctrine that politics are of secondary importance, and that the great work of reconstruction is to be accomplished by the united strength of the labor unions, seems little short of blasphemous heresy, and they have not been slow to dub it a reversion to Anarchy. But if our analysis of the essential nature of Marxian Socialism has been correct, the New Socialism has as much right as the old to the name of Marxian.

After all, the conflict between the leaders of the Socialist parties and the exponents of the New Socialism are more apparent than real. For in times of actual serious conflict with Capitalism we find them fighting side by side. In France after the railway strike of 1910 it was Jaurès, the leading advocate of Parliamentary Socialism in France, who fought for the re-instatement of the blacklisted railway workers. In England it was George Lansbury, M. P., whose efforts in Parliament obtained the release of Guy Bowman and the reduction of the sentence of Tom Mann, who had both been imprisoned for telling the British soldiers that murder was none the less murder because the killer wore a uniform, a doctrine enunciated by James Russell Lowell in the Bigelow Papers. When the Lawrence strike culminated in the atrocities committed upon women and children by the police and militia, it was Berger, the Parliamentarian, who aided Haywood, the New Socialist, in arousing the conscience of the nation. And in the municipal elections in Ohio, in 1911, which resulted in many Socialist victories, much of the most effective campaign work was done by Haywood, Frank Bohn and other New Socialists.

In order to understand the New Socialism it may be most convenient to study it chiefly in England, for there its most signal victories have been won. I refer to the London Dock Strike, the Seamen's Strike and the Railway Strike of 1911 and the great Coal Miners' Strike of 1912. These strikes, while they did not secure the strikers all they demanded, nevertheless showed dramatically both to the workers and to the general public the essential omnipotence of the workers when united, and their very formidable power when only partially united and very inadequately organized and prepared for combat. Moreover three of these strikes, like the French Railway Strike of 1910, and the Hungarian Suffrage Strike of 1912, had very perceptible political effects, thus demonstrating that the strike as well as the ballot can be used for the proletarian conquest of political power.

These strikes were all illustrations of the New Socialism in action. They by no means give us the measure of the power of the New Socialism. They were in fact mere hints of the mighty portents we may expect when the propaganda of the New Socialism shall have thoroughly permeated the working classes.

Whence sprang British Syndicalism? Primarily from the conditions of British trade, industry and politics. In the face of the highly centralized organization of British industry the old methods of craft or sectional trade unionism had shown themselves powerless. The Labor politics of the British Labor Party, a mixture of lobbying and trading with the Liberal Party, had destroyed the belief in the efficacy of political action along parliamentary lines—a belief that was very strong in England in the ninth decade of the last century. Hence, the workers were ripe for the doctrine that what they wanted they must take by their own power, and that they could only do this by the action of all the workingmen and women in an industry, including the lowest paid and the most unskilled as well as the highly skilled craftsmen who had formerly formed the bulk of the organized labor movement.

These conditions would have given birth to the New Socialism sooner or later in any case, but the process of birth was facilitated and hastened by the timely arrival from Australia of Tom Mann, early in 1910. Mann at once began a vigorous propaganda for Industrial Unionism, though he was careful to antagonize the existing trade union movement as little as might be. His aim has been to induce the existing unions to open their doors to the unorganized and the unskilled, and to federate or amalgamate themselves into unions as broad as the industries in which they worked. He has never organized new unions save where the workers were unorganized, as among the waterside workers

in Dublin; and he organized them, not into a new union, but into the already existing National Transport Workers' Federation. In this work he has been eminently successful. Indeed his success has been so astounding and so rapid that it can only be accounted for on the theory that the movement would have come a little later spontaneously without his very effective propaganda.

Where did Tom Mann get his knowledge of the New Socialism? From France? No; to French Syndicalism his debt is very small. He became an Industrial Unionist in Australia, and the Industrial Union Movement in Australia drew all its inspiration and literature from America.

This literature consisted chiefly of the Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, other pamphlets issued by that organization and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW (Chicago). That Mann had read this literature carefully and thoughtfully was shown me when he surprised me in London just before the Dock Strike of 1911 by quoting to me *verbatim et literatim* from an article of my own in the REVIEW.

Mann had been thoroughly trained and grounded in the tenets of Marxian Socialism during the many years in which he had been a co-worker with H. M. Hyndman and Harry Quelch in the Social Democratic Federation. This is also true of Ben Tillet, the very able leader of the London riverside workers.

The most active and militant of the younger leaders of the South Wales coal miners, who had so large a part in bringing to pass the recent coal strike, had been trained in the Workingmen's College, formerly at Oxford but recently moved to London. And there they had studied, as a sort of Labor *Magna Charta*, the Preamble to the Constitution of the American Industrial Workers of the World.

Since this document may fairly be regarded as the fundamental statement of the principles of the New Socialism it may be well to state that it was framed at the first convention of the I. W. W. in Chicago, in 1905. It has been slightly amended since, but the spirit has remained unchanged. The amendments have only served to make it more explicit. The first convention was largely the result of the conviction of many American trade unionists that in the face of the Trust and the centralization of manufacturing capital the old-time trade unionism based on craft divisions and the manual skill of the craftsmen was rapidly becoming impotent or worse. This conviction had manifested itself spontaneously and sporadically in all parts of the country. So that it is fair to say the Preamble sprang, not so much from theory as from actual experience of the working class in its daily struggles for a decent livelihood. This Preamble reads, in its present form:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capi-

talists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The differentiating ideas of the New Socialism appear to be that unionism should cease to be the organization of the aristocrats of labor and become truly all-embracing class organizations; that such unions will be strong enough, whether with or without the aid of political parties, to overthrow the rule of the employing class; and that when once this is done they will be prepared to carry on the work of social production and distribution, which will be in the main merely a continuation of the functions they will have been performing before their conquest of society.

In addition to this one always finds the idea that in the conduct of their daily conflicts the workers are training themselves intellectually and morally for their future responsibilities to humanity.

Thus, while the New Socialism is not in essentials in conflict with the Old, it easily answers two objections that always gave pause to the apologists of the Old. The first of these is implied in the common query: "How are you going to see to it that the world's work is done after your victory?" The Old Socialism, looking forward to a political victory, had no convincing answer. The New Socialism says the very organization that wins the victory will carry on society's work after the victory is won, and that without any interval of disorganization. Indeed it is impossible for the New Socialism to win until it is fully prepared morally and technically to shoulder the responsibilities to mankind the victory will impose upon it.

The second of these objections to Socialism is commonly stated: "You must change human nature to make Socialism practicable." The New Socialist answers, the process of obtaining Socialist victory will change human nature; our victory will only come after human nature has been sufficiently changed.

The New Socialism tends to assure a peaceful revolution. This the Old could never do. Curiously enough the idea has gained currency in America that Haywood, Mann and the New Socialists generally are advocates of force and violence, while the Old Socialists of the parliamentary type, such as Berger, Hillquit and Spargo, love peace and eschew violence. This is almost the exact reverse of the truth. It was the parliamentarian, Berger, who in a signed article advised every Socialist to buy a rifle. It was the parliamentarian, Hillquit, who said that if the Socialists were not allowed to seat peacefully the officials they had elected they would, "if need be, fight like tigers on the barricades."

The New Socialists look on riots, barricades and street fighting as hopelessly obsolete with the capitalist class in full possession of all the machinery of war. The weapon upon which they rely is the power of the workers peacefully to fold their arms in such numbers as to paralyze industry and force the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

This means the General Strike; but the New Socialists are not foolish enough to believe that any strike will ever be absolutely universal. The absolutely universal strike is simply an ideal toward which to work, but which in the nature of things can never be reached. The New Socialist believes with Browning that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp."

Moreover, there is no necessity for an absolutely general strike. A strike falling far short of that would force society to capitulate unconditionally. One hundred thousand London riverside workers, in 1911, compelled the British Government to solicit their permission to move petrol enough to furnish power to move the mails across the City of London. Two million coal miners forced the British Parliament in 1912 to pass England's first Minimum Wage law.

It is difficult to set limits to the possible effects of a strike of five million English workers sufficiently well organized to carry out a peaceful General Strike of one week's duration.

M. Georges Sorel, who has been the leading writer among the apologists of French Syndicalism, calls the General Strike a social "myth" which will never be realized, but which inspires the French workers to great and heroic daily deeds. But to the struggling workers the General Strike is no "myth." They know well enough that

a strike sufficiently general to emancipate humanity is not only possible but as certain as any future event can be.

The notion of violence so generally associated with the New Socialism probably springs in part from the fact that many French Syndicalists have perpetrated acts of violence. But this violence, as Dr. Louis Levine has pointed out in his just published scholarly work on "The Labor Movement in France," has been due, not to their revolutionary ideals, but to the numerical and financial weakness of the French Labor Unions. Weakness in labor unions everywhere begets violence without regard to the theoretical views of the uion leaders. The MacNamaras were *craft* unionists, Democrats in politics and Catholics in religion. Yet there is no atrocity in the annals of French Syndicalism comparable in horror to the blowing up of the Los Angeles Times building.

English and American Syndicalism have been so slightly influenced by French Syndicalism that it is unnecessary to go with any fullness into the latter. Suffice it to say it only took form and actuality in 1895 and has only been powerful since 1902. Its achievements have been marvelous in view of its small numbers. The General Confederation of Labor has today less than half a million members; and owing to the extreme reluctance of the French workers to pay more than nominal dues it has never had large funds at its disposal.

Like English and American Syndicalism it was the creation of actual economic and political conditions, rather than of theorists. Indeed theorists like M. Sorel have never exercised much influence on the French Syndicalist movement. It is true that the leading ideas of French Syndicalism can be found in rudimentary form in writings of Bakunin and his associates in the old *International.* But it is very doubtful whether these Bakuninite writings had any real influence in determining the course of the development of modern Syndicalism.

It could be held very plausibly that Bakunin's distrust of the State and parliamentarism was more logically Marxian than the position of Marx and his friends in those bitter struggles in the old *International.* For Marx held that each stage of economic development begets the political institutions in harmony with it. The present parliamentary or representative State came into being to serve the will of the bourgeoisie, and fulfills that function admirably. But, for that very reason, would not pure Marxism hold that it is impossible for it to be used by the proletariat for wholly different ends?

But, be that as it may, there can be but little doubt that Marx and his allies were right in holding that at that stage of industrial and historical development a powerful movement could only be built up along political lines. For the rest the divisions in the *International* were doubtless influenced more or less by racial and personal feelings. Marx was a German and a Jew. Bakunin was a Russian and an aristocrat. And it is quite certain that most of Bakunin's support came from those Latin races that then, as now, had little love for the Prussians.

What is the general attitude of the New Socialism toward ordinary political action, in short, toward participating in elections? This is well stated by the hero of the elder Rosny's very conscientious study of French Syndicalism, *"La Vague Rouge."* The hero, an agitator for the General Confederation of Labor, when asked by a workingman, "Is it no longer necessary to vote?" replies, "Vote if you want to—A so-called Socialist deputy is always better than a radical deputy, and a radical deputy is preferable to a re-actionary deputy. But do not take your vote too seriously. Give your attention, all your attention and all your enthusiasm and all your courage, all your strength of arm and of head, to the struggles of your labor union."

It will have been noticed that there is nothing in the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World inconsistent with participation in politics. And the French General Confederation of Labor at the Congress of Lyons in 1901 expressedly adopted a resolution "leaving to individuals the undeniable right to devote themselves to that kind of struggle which they prefer in the political field."

Tom Mann was a member of the Social Democratic Party when he began his crusade for Syndicalism in England. When the Social Democratic Party adopted a resolution in favor of "an adequate navy"

for England he resigned. But he told me in conversation that he was not especially hostile to political action, but that his great desire was to unite the workers on the economic field, so that with that in view he felt political abstention was the best policy for him. His main idea being that religious or political differences must not be allowed to divide workers whose economic interests were identical. In a recent letter he reminded me, "You know I am non-parliamentary."

On the other hand Ben Tillet, next to Mann the most successful strike manager in England, is still an active member of the British Socialist Party, into which the Social Democratic Party has been merged.

In America Haywood, the leading exponent of the New Socialism in practice, is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Nor is Haywood alone. In fact, most of the active workers for the New Socialism in this country are dues-paying members of the Socialist Party.

It is well to remember that the New Socialism has never yet become powerful in any country where there was not already in existence a more or less potent Socialist political party. And in all of its struggles it has been aided by Socialists in office. Here in America, as a matter of chronology it was not until after Berger was elected to Congress that Haywood led the Lawrence strikers to victory. And Berger helped very materially in that fight. Without the active aid of the Socialist Party the Lawrence strike would have failed.

Most New Socialists believe that the political machinery of the present State is by its very nature unfitted to be used for revolutionary social transformation. They believe the constructive work of the Social Revolution will be performed by the labor unions. But they also believe that the State is a power-repressive engine in the hands of the capitalists, and that the election of Socialists to office interferes with the capitalist employment of this machinery of repression, and so gives the revolutionary unions a freer field in which to develop.

The New Socialists are not inclined to be narrow or dogmatic. What can be gained by parliamentary action they are willing and glad to take, though they believe that the direct pressure of a strike will often secure political results more quickly than votes alone. Hence, in America at least they believe in using both methods. New Socialists in this country fully realize that it costs a workingman nothing to vote, while a strike often means suffering and privation, not only for himself but for his wife and little ones as well. Hence, they believe in supporting the Socialist Party, while building up with all their energy insatiable revolutionary unions.

Indeed there are many New Socialists, including the writer, who hold that a strong Socialist Political Party is a condition precedent (in this country at least) for a strong Syndicalist movement.

Electing Socialists to office is usually called "indirect action" in contrast to the "direct action" of the New Socialism. Curiously enough many people have come to believe the "direct action" means assassination and dynamite bombs. Dr. Louis Levine has rendered a valuable public service by blowing away the clouds of misunderstanding with which this subject has been enveloped. On page 122 of the work already referred to, he tells us: "'Direct action' may assume various forms, but the principal ones in the struggle against employers are: the strike, the boycott, the label, and *sabotage*." The first three of these have always been employed by the most conservative craft unionists, while the latter under the name of "Go Canny" has long been used by the conservative unions of England. So that it appears there is nothing very new and dreadful about "direct action" after all.

"*Sabotage*," according to Dr. Levine, "consists in obstructing in all possible ways the regular process of production, in order to obtain any demand. It may express itself in slow work, in bad work and even in the destruction of the machinery of production." It should be noted that the Congress of Toulouse (1897) of the General Confederation of Labor recommended the boycott and *sabotage* "only in those cases in which strikes would not yield results." Dr. Levine tells us the French Syndicalists "strongly condemn any act of *sabotage* which may result in the loss of life."

Sabotage is only used as a last resort by men who are apparently beaten. The Bri-

tish thought John Paul Jones was beaten. But when they called on him to surrender, he replied: "We have only just begun our part of the fighting." In the same spirit the French railway workers, after Briand called them to their military colors, and their strike was apparently lost, might have said: "We have only just begun our part of the fighting." They worked, but freight that was destined for Lyons mysteriously turned up weeks later at Lille, and packages shipped to Havre were hopelessly lost till they were reported from Marseilles. This disorganization of the service continued until the discharged strikers had all been reinstated. The Socialist deputies in Parliament helped very materially in bringing this result about.

The Socialists of the world are more and more coming to see that they cannot neglect either direct or indirect action. It is quite safe, to predict that the American advocates of "direct action" will almost to a man help the Socialist Party in this year's campaign. And we may be quite as sure the parliamentary Socialists will loyally support every strike organized by the "direct actionists."

I think we are now in a position to say with considerable assurance that the New Socialism is the legitimate child of the Old, and that it will not devour its parent. On the contrary we are even now beginning to see a synthesis of the two which will retain all that is virile in either. But when this synthesis shall have been completed it is quite safe to say that those traits which have heretofore been the differentiating marks of the New Socialism will be the most salient characteristics of the Ultimate Socialism.

That this synthesis is well under way in America is shown significantly by the following resolution adopted unanimously by this year's National Convention of the Socialist Party at Indianapolis:

"In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and *closely united organizations on the economic field*, a powerful and militant party on the political field *and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.*"

Here the political party has definitely recognized that it is the mission of labor unions not only to protect the workers against the encroachments of capitalism, but also aggressively to attack capitalism; and that is the fundamental doctrine of the New Socialism.

When this synthesis shall have been completed, the knell of capitalism will have been rung.

The two great contributions of the New Socialism are: First, its ability to guarantee a peaceful transition from Today to Tomorrow, from Capitalism to Socialism; and second, its emphatic insistence upon the inevitability and the absolute necessity of the psychological and moral regeneration of the working classes.

When the Old Socialism was asked what would happen if the ruling classes did not surrender when Socialist parties should register majorities at the ballot box, its only possible answer was the threat of Hillquit to "fight like tigers." The New Socialism serenely replied: "If they do not surrender, the workers will peacefully fold their arms until they do."

Socialist writers from Ferdinand Lassalle to Miss Vida Scudder have always insisted upon the spiritual re-birth effected by a vivid sense of class consciousness and class responsibility. But the Old Socialism, which made its powerful appeals to class emotions only at infrequently recurring elections, could not make this spiritual awakening of the toiling masses an actuality. The New Socialism, with its call to the workers to fight the Class War daily in the shops, is day by day effecting the moral re-birth of the workers.

What the New Socialism will lose, in the course of its metamorphosis into the Ultimate Socialism, is its more or less marked reluctance to participate in electoral politics. This is the one respect in which English and American Syndicalism have been strongly influenced by French Syndicalism. And the labor union prejudice against politics in France is largely due to local causes. Formerly French political Socialism was divided into five warring factions or camps. And each faction sought unceasingly to capture the labor union movement. The latter became the foot-ball of factional politics, and its growth was retarded until at

length in desperation the unions deliberately excluded politics from the unions. Having suffered so much from politics, it is small wonder that the organized French workers are still reluctant to take an active share in the political struggle. But in England and America, where in their very first struggles the revolutionary unions have been so materially assisted by such political Socialists as George Lansbury, M. P., and Victor Berger, M. C., it is probable the very slight hostility to politics that has manifested itself sporadically will soon wholly disappear. It has never seriously affected the masses of the British and American workers who are practical enough to wish to use every weapon at their disposal.

The political propaganda and agitation of the Old Socialism must remain the chief means by which the Ultimate Socialism will educate the general public as to its goal and methods, and by which it will teach them the true significance of the constantly recurring struggles on the industrial field. But it is probable that the activities of Socialist representatives in legislative bodies will in the future be largely limited to seconding the efforts of the revolutionary unions on the industrial field, and to giving permanence and universality to their victories by giving them statutory registration.

The palliative measures which have often been introduced in the past by Socialist representatives will probably, as time goes on, be left more and more to Progressives such as Winston Churchill and Lloyd George in England and LaFollette and Bryan in America; for Capitalism to prolong its lease of life must, willingly or unwillingly, become progressive.

The New Socialism has come to stay. Its power will steadily increase. It is a World Force that must be understood and reckoned with by friend and foe.

From London, England. Send us 300 copies of the September REVIEW in time for our congress at which hundreds of delegates will be assembled.

We are making the question of revolutionary industrial unionism hum in the little island of ours, and with a larger circulation of the REVIEW we will make fast progress. Good luck to the REVIEW and the band of revolutionary workers whose efforts are making it such a successful medium for the expression of revolutionary Socialist thought.—J. C. W.



NIGHT SCENE—PITTSBURGH DISTRICT.

OVER A VOLCANO

BY

WILLIAM E. TRAUTMANN

Photos by Hine—Courtesy of The Survey.

"TWENTY thousand common laborers are needed in the Pittsburgh District!——" "The Carnegie Steel Corporation is paying court fines to get prisoners released so that they can go to work in the mills."

These, and similar, are the news items running through the newspaper nearly every day. There is a scarcity of labor, *common, unskilled labor,* but many mechanics and skilled toilers are in the peculiar position of looking for jobs. Many of them are compelled to take work as "common laborers."

This need for common laborers may look very prosperous on the surface. Not in 38 years has there been such a situation in the Pittsburgh District. As work is plentiful, the job of hunting for men is on. Wages ought to be high and employment devoid of the rough features that are imposed upon the toilers when the streets are filled with idle men and women. Premiums are offered to employment agencies to get more workers, and in several mills the skilled mechanics cannot work full time because of this dearth of the "common herd" on the labor market.

It's indeed a strange situation created by the capitalist process of production. The skilled mechanic has been gradually reduced or eliminated by the more skilful machines operated by semi-skilled or common laborers. With wages comparatively higher these former skilled workers have helped to bring about the conditions they now suffer under. They resisted being drawn into the mass of common unskilled toilers. They rebelled against being placed on the same level with the latter. In pursuit of a blind policy of trades unionism, they shut the doors in the organizations of glass, of iron and steel workers, and in many others, against the common laborers.

They neglected and sometimes deliberately refused to help in the education and organization of hundreds of thousands of common laborers, and scorned even the latter's efforts to rise to a higher standard of living. This is now causing a reaction which the craftsmen bitterly resent. Slowly but surely great numbers of them sink into the mass that constitutes the low level, or thousands of them roam the country in the delusive hope that the days of "craftsmanship" are bound to return some time when some political party will turn backward the wheels of progress.

Now the time, the golden opportunity, has arrived when the common laborers, the unskilled toilers, can accomplish things. The law of supply and demand ought to operate automatically. The supply being so extraordinarily scarce, and the demand so keen and intense, wages ought to go up for these workers by leaps and by bounds.

But this has not always happened. The corporations prefer to pay premiums to employment agents. But they have not stimulated the increased needed supply by granting better wages and improved working conditions in general. It is with them a matter of policy to set that economic law aside if they can. They seem to know that the combined strength and united efforts of the aroused toilers would make them go a few points better than allowing that law of supply and demand to operate. They are therefore biding their time till the workers are able to force them.

A portion of these employers of labor, however, remember what great advantages will accrue if they can tie down the unrest by contracts with trades unions, being assured, of course, that minute compliance with all the terms of such contract will be looked after by the faithful servants of the National Civic Federation.

In a recently renewed agreement with the United Mine Workers in the Pittsburgh district it is stated that 15,000 mine laborers, for the first time, are going to share in the great achievements of the organization. They are granted an increase of 5½ per cent in wages, and the operators benevolently agree to check the monthly dues from the pay envelope of these common laborers. This means absolute control over the actions of these toilers. It assures the mine owners that these thousands are enjoined from going out on strike during the life of that contract even though in other industries, wages of the unskilled workers may be raised from 10 to 20 per cent.

But the capitalists and their faithful are placing their hopes of control over these workers on their experiences in the past. They could then rely upon the crafty leaders of labor to avert suspension of operation when it did not suit them. But the days of meek obedience to orders by the common laborers are passing by. The rank and file is restless. Despite the desperate efforts of the capitalists and their servants to clamp the lid tight on the rumbling volcano, the pressure from the seat of discontent below will cause an eruption when the tension grows too strong. Industrial-socialist propaganda, more or less, is responsible for this state of affairs.

In the Westmoreland Mining District these lessons of a great propaganda are brought home to the workers, as well as to the capitalists. Unhampered by iron-clad trades agreements, thousands of South Slavish miners rebelled. They had scabbed during the last strike, that is true, but agitators of the South Slavish Socialist Federation have been pounding into their heads the doctrine of working class solidarity. They wanted to make good. And they did. Consternation ran rampant among the mine owners. Increases ranging from 15 to 20 per cent in wages were "voluntarily" granted. These employers did not want the lid to be blown off from a smouldering volcano. They had no labor leaders to fix things by contracts, and they were compelled to recognize the growing demand of millions for better returns for the work they perform in the mines.

It is pitiful only to observe that the large mass of workers are not conscious as yet of the wonderful industrial advantage they occupy at this time. They could again make "Pittsburgh" a historic place in the battle of labor for more rights and better things. Here and there the rumblings of an impending industrial eruption can be heard. Usually small outbreaks are quickly pacified for fear the heaped-up discontent will result in an industrial conflict involving hundreds of thousands of men.



SLAVIC LABORERS.

Labor troubles of all kinds grow fast in the Pittsburgh District.

Jones & Laughlin, the steel corporation in which the William Taft family has its assets, quickly yielded an increase of 10 per cent to the common laborers, but only after hundreds of workers had started a stampede out of one of the departments. The situation was fraught with imminent danger that the tens of thousands employed in other departments, including the 8,000 employed by the same corporation in Aliquippa, would be involved. Once the men break loose, there will be no halt. The employers only too keenly realize this.

In Homestead a repetition of an industrial conflict was feared when the workers in three departments walked out. Their demands were quickly granted.

The Steel Trust, in order to assure itself of "peace and prosperity," would now comply with some of the recommendations of the Stanley Committee and introduce the three-shift system. But this they would only do with a corresponding reduction in wages, like the Wool Trust did in Lawrence.

But here in the Pittsburgh district this would require not less than 50,000 additional common workers. That would put the corporation still more at a disadvantage. The supply is not here now. They have their agents busy in Europe, but for reasons to be touched on in other articles, they cannot get the slaves to come over to the homes of the brave.

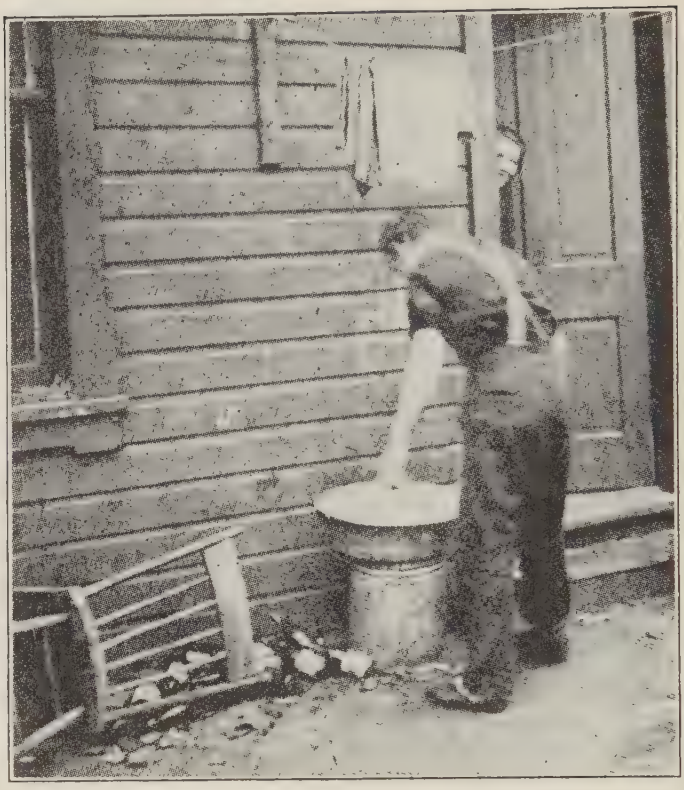
Seven hundred and fifty people from Slavonia, who were given work in the Braddock mills last week, to cover a shortage of over 3,000 common laborers, were taken directly from the steamer, after their arrival, and packed into the company houses in the midst of dark night. The corporations were afraid that these workers would be approached to join some organization before they got into the mills, and they feared they would refuse to accept work for 16 cents an hour, when there is such an agitation to wrest from the companies all that the workers are able to get by their combined efforts.

In McKees Rocks, in the plant of the notorious Pressed Steel Car Company, a 10 per cent increase in wages was granted immediately after the company officials learned that organization meetings ad-

dressed by socialist-industrialists had been held. But the company held out, immediately thereafter, to hundreds of the deluded workers the hope of making extra premiums by overtime work, Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

After the memorable strike of 1909, all these things were no longer permitted, as the workers were being organized. But this shortage of labor requires the capitalists to make extra inducements to fill urgent orders. Much of our literature does not include the discussion of subjects closely related to the workers' daily needs and final historic mission. Therefore ignorance on such industrial matters is liable to react on those who strive for the change of the system with all organized means available.

The Cigar Trust, seeing how the tobacco workers in the Pittsburgh District won



WASHING UP AFTER A DAY IN THE MILL.



A ONE-ROOM STEEL WORKER'S HOME.

strike after strike in some large factories, "voluntarily," of course, increased the wages of its men for the first time, believing that thereby an outbreak of discontent would be averted.

All these phenomena combined demonstrate that the capitalists are very much alarmed. They attribute all these evil things to Socialist propaganda, and this is true as far as the agitation among the hundreds of thousands of aliens go. The North Slavish and South Slavish nationalities, and the Italians as well as Hungarians, form a veritable hotbed of revolutionary possibilities. They are ready to demand much. The capitalists feel it, too, and their peacemakers are kept busy. The large mass of Socialists are getting wise to the game. No longer has the labor aristocrat, represented in his craft union, and his walking delegate, the whiphand over the formerly despised common man. Their days are, fortunately for the labor movement, gone forever.



"THE MANSION."
The Company-Owned Home of the Superintendent, Homestead.

There will be foolish attempts to divert the activities of class conscious, militant workers from the industrial field of battle. The free speech fight here provoked by police and courts, with the backing of the corporations, sprung from the vain hope that thereby the industrial revolt would be ignored and energies wasted in other directions. But the great courage and determination of the advanced workers in these fights attracted the attention of the millions of industrial slaves. Despite all the villification and abuse the common workers recognize in the industrial-socialists their only friends. When things start here in Pittsburgh, here where once over twenty-eight years ago a new labor organization was born when the old became too conservative, too corrupt and an instrument of reaction, here the workers, guided this time by the experience of the years, will set a mark on the work and progress of all revolutionary forces. They will march onward until industrial and political freedom is fully assured to all who toil.

THE BIG THREES

BY GUY McCLUNG

CAPITALISM and Socialism come in threes, so to speak. Capitalism is based on the three institutions: rent, interest, and profit. Socialism is based on three principles: the class struggle, surplus value, and economic determinism.

Capitalism may be likened to an octopus with three tentacles. An octopus is a sea monster so tenacious of life that all its far-reaching arms must be cut off before it is put out of business. Capitalism is a monster of the same nature. So far do its evil tentacles extend, so desperate is its clutch upon society, that all its snaky arms must be cut off if it is to be destroyed.

For instance, it might be possible to have the government go into the producing and manufacturing business and sell everything to the people at cost. That would dispense with profit, but rent and interest would still have to be paid. Then if the government took away from private capitalists the right to absorb rent and interest, it would merely transfer that right to itself and the exploitation of the toilers of the earth would go on just the same.

That exploitation might be reduced to a minimum, so that the amount of rent, interest and profit extracted would be of the smallest degree, but the institution of capitalism would remain.

Some of its worst horrors would be abolished, but the system itself would still be on the job sucking the lifeblood of the workers, and it might prove to be harder than ever to destroy because it is entrenched and concentrated.

This is enough to show that what we want is not an extension of the powers of a political government but a replacement of this political government by an industrial commonwealth managed by the workers themselves through their industrial councils.

The point to be remembered is that as long as the smallest fraction of *surplus value* is created we shall still have capitalism on our hands. Surplus value is measured by the amount of labor time over and above that socially necessary to produce a certain commodity. For example, it is the boast of a certain typewriter factory that it turns out "a typewriter every minute." This typewriter sells for $100. Let us say that 2,000 people work ten hours every day at $3 a day to produce these machines. Ten hours at $3 means a half cent a minute. Two thousand minutes of labor, then, which produce a $100 machine, at half a cent a minute, bring $10 in wages. We thus see what an enormous amount of surplus value is extracted out of typewriter makers by their employers.

The employers accumulate fortunes out of this surplus value. After a time their slaves demand higher wages, or more of the value of their product, and failing to get it, they strike. They have the sympathy and support of the workers in other trades, but on the other hand we find other employers lined up with the factory owners. The situation thus created we call *the class struggle.*

The profit that he makes renders the employer satisfied with conditions as they are. He is interested in maintaining what he calls "the established order." Therefore everything that helps to support and preserve this established order is to him right and good. But the worker sees things otherwise. He has been beaten down in the struggle for existence and after a time he wakes up to the fact that the rules of the game are unfair. He demands a change. The whole established order and everything that helps to maintain it is to him wrong and brutal. Thus we see that a man's outlook on life and view of society are determined by the way he makes his living and the amount of his income. This principle is what Socialists call *economic determinism.*

To summarize: The Big Three of Socialism are the Class Struggle, Surplus Value, and Economic Determinism.

The Big Three of Capitalism are Rent, Interest and Profit.

Understand these and you will have a working knowledge of the present society under Capitalism and the new society under Socialism.



PATRIOTS ON GUARD AT GRABOW AFTER THE RIOT.

"I AM HERE FOR LABOR"

BY

COVINGTON HALL

"I AM here for labor and I will still be fighting for it, though I am killed." These brave and splendid words are taken from a letter written by President Emerson since his arrest and imprisonment. His spirit is the spirit of all the other boys who have been jailed with him for the crime of resisting the infamous tyranny of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, which is the southern branch of the National Lumber Trust, the most shameless, most merciless, most lawless aggregation of gunmen and grafters fighting under the black flag of business today.

For years conditions in the southern sawmills and camps, rotten to begin with, have been growing steadily worse and worse until human nature could endure no more, and the workers revolted and began to organize. The beginning was made at Carson, La., on December 3, 1910, where and when Jay Smith, now general secretary, and A. L. Emerson, now president, organized the first local union of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, the rapid growth of which caused the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, about six months later, or during July, 1911, to order the closing down of about forty mills in western Louisiana and eastern Texas in an effort to destroy the Union by lockout and starvation.

This lockout, the market for lumber then being dull, was not lifted until January and February, 1912, when, immediately, the struggle between the Union and the Association began again and was fought with increasing intensity, the Brotherhood steadily gaining ground, until, on Sunday, July 7, 1912, in a final ferocious effort to drive the workers back into the old meek submission to peonage, the lumber kings planned and carried out the massacre of Grabow.

Before and since the massacre, outrage on outrage has been committed on the persons of Union men and those suspected of working for or being in sympathy with them. At Zwalle, La., an attempt was made to lynch Organizer Wiggins of the Brotherhood, and only the prompt arrival of Union men and sympathizers saved his life. This



A. L. EMERSON.

dastardly outrage was committed by the thugs of the Sabine Lumber Company.

At Elizabeth, La., a few months ago, a poor devil was taken into the office of the Industrial Lumber Company and beaten nearly to death because he was "suspected" of being an organizer, which he was not, never having had anything to do with the Brotherhod, and it was a thug of this company who attempted H. G. Creel's life at Oakdale, La., as it was General Manager Bridgewater of this concern, who several months ago unexpectedly assaulted President Emerson at Lake Charles, La., taking him unawares and knocking him down. At another town one of the Brotherhood organizers was seized by thugs, beaten nearly insensible, stripped naked and driven down the railroad track. At Strong, Ark., Organizer T. J. Humble was kicked and clubbed, his watch taken away from him and his suitcase plundered, then he was escorted out of town and told to "stay out under penalty of death," and the next issues of the local papers denounced him for "trying to organize the negroes against the whites," which last is a thing the Southern



GRABOW, A TYPICAL SOUTHERN LUMBER TOWN.
Scene of the "Riot"—The First Shot Was Fired from the Company Office



IN THE WOODS.

Lumber Operators' Association is doing every day. Nor is this one-tenth part of the infamies that have been committed by the lumber trust's managers, foremen and gunmen. These gunmen, commissioned as deputy sheriffs by the Democratic party officials, brazenly meet all trains, hold up whom they please, demand his life history, business, etc., and, if not satisfied, order him out of town; this they have also done on the public roads of the state, while these so-called officers of the law have led the mobs that broke up mass meetings of the Brotherhood, and, tho complaint was made on at least three separate occasions to the governor of Louisiana and to the sheriff of Calcasieu parish, against the acts of these "peace officers," no attention was ever paid to the protests, which non-attention on the part of the authorities emboldened the gunmen and aided greatly in making the massacre of Grabow the success it was. Immediately following the indictment of President Emerson and sixty-four other officers and members of the Brotherhood, these manhunters took up the trail of those who had not yet been arrested and confined in the black hole of Lake Charles, when Emerson and the first few were seized, and showed the zeal of blood hounds in their masters' cause.

There, to that terrible prison at Lake Charles, that cesspool of filth and temple of inhumanity, the gunmen brought their prey, and there, as in its mills and camps, the Southern Lumber Operators' Association made no distinction between its victims, for, white and black, they were thrown together, in the same room, in the same cell; there, as in the mills and forests, equality was forced upon the workers by the masters and not a word of denunciation did one hear from the local press about its horrors there; nor was a word uttered in denunciation of *this* "social equality" of the races by the "Democratic" press of Louisiana, Arkansas or Texas. It is only when the peons of the South are urged to organize and stand together on the job that this cry is raised, that we hear the harpies of the press shrieking at Humble and the others, and the gunmen damning and beating and killing them for the "crime of organizing the negroes against the whites."

With one accord, led by such shameless sheets as the New Orleans "Times-Democrat," the Houston "Post," and the Beaumont "Enterprise," the papers throughout

this section have prostituted themselves to the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, have lied and pimped and pandered, done all and everything in their power to help these vampires drink the blood of Emerson and his associates.

Drunk with authority and power, long and brutally exercised, the southern oligarchy, now astonished and frightened at the resistance being made against it by the timber workers and working farmers, has thrown to the winds all pretense of respect for the laws, even those the most fundamental, and with the ferocity of fiends and cornered tigers, is hesitating at nothing in its mad effort to crush the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and maintain, in all its unvarnished cruelty, its economic-political supremacy. And this intention is proven by every act and deed that has been committed against the Brotherhood and its allies both before and since the packed grand jury at Lake Charles indicted all the unionists and released every mill owner and gunman brought before them and charged with complicity in the Grabow "riot."

Private detectives are everywhere, and in the Timber Belt today we have practically a government of the people by a detective agency for the lumber trust. These social vultures, these spawn of Burns and Pinkerton, follow us on the trains, are in the mills, the camps, the forests, and even in the jail among the imprisoned workers, posing as martyrs to the sacred cause of human liberty!

Such is the hideous social system prevailing over the greater part of the South today, a system that only madmen could conceive or hope to last, a system that is so cold and brutal in its denial of all human rights and liberties that it is shocking all real men and women into rebellion; a system that worships Mammon so thoroughly it is dying of its own corruption, expiring in its own filth, but, like Diaz, still butchering and murdering on its way to ruin.

The Southern Lumber Operators' Association, and back of it the whole southern oligarchy . . . this is the power the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and its allies are fighting today; this is the power that has its blood-stained hands on the throats of A. L. Emerson and his associates and that will drink the blood of sixty-five of the finest Union men and Socialists in the South today, unless the working class comes as one to their assistance and defense.

"Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose! You have a world to gain!"

Unite, and break, and break forever, the power of the infamous southern oligarchy!

VOTE FOR LIBERTY

BY

JOHN P. BURKE

State Sec'y, New Hampshire

FREE speech, free press and the right of peaceable assemblage. These three rights are supposed to be the bulwark of American freedom. They are supposed to be the principles upon which this nation was founded.

In the struggle of the working class for Industrial liberty it is absolutely necessary that these three rights be maintained. To agitate among our fellow workers we must have free speech; to educate the working class we must have a free press; to organize the working class it is necessary that we have the right of peaceable assemblage.

The capitalist class is fully awake to what these three rights means to the working class and at the present time are taking these rights away from the working class all over the country. Here in New Egland, where the class struggle has raged with such intensity ever since the Lawrence strike, city and state offi-

cials have deliberately taken from the workers every vestige of their constitutional rights.

The arrest of Ettor and Giovannitti, denying strikers a permit to hold parade and out-door meetings, ordering hall owners not to let their halls to strikers and strike sympathizers are a few of the instances where the workers of New England have felt the "Iron Heel" of capitalism. But the workers themselves are to blame for this condition. No class has a "right" only so long as it has the power to maintain that right. The working class has the power, but on every election day, by voting the Republican and Democrat tickets, they surrender their power into the hands of the capitalist class. After what has happened in the New England states during the past few months it should not take any argument to convince any intelligent worker that both the Republican and Democrat parties are but instruments in the hands of the mill owners to keep them in subjection.

To maintain the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage the workers must use their political power. How? Not by voting the Republican and Democrat tickets. That is mis-using your political power. As a result of mis-using your political power, by voting the same ticket your industrial master votes, you are mis-used and abused when you and your class go on strike. To use your political power effectively you should vote the Socialist party ticket.

When you vote the Socialist party ticket you place power in the hands of your class. With the Socialist party in power when you go on strike you have the city and state governments to back you up and help you win. With the Republican and Democrat parties in power the capitalist class has the courts and militia to back them up to help you lose.

Don't be fooled into thinking that Industrial organization is all that is necessary and that voting and political action does not amount to anything. To have an effective Industrial organization we must have the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage. The easiest way to maintain these rights is by electing the Socialist party to power. Last winter when the Lawrence strike was on, the Amoskeag mills at Manchester, N. H., (the largest mills of their kind in the world) seethed with unrest. These great mills, could, for the first time in their history, I believe, be organized. But what did the mill owners do? Through the city and police officials they suspended the right of free speech and assemblage. Speaking on the streets or in the park was prohibted. Not a hall could be hired. A hall that the Socialist Party had hired to have Haywood speak in was closed when the authorities learned who the speaker was to be. An Industrial organization could not be formed in Manchester because the workers had misused their political power. The workers must either vote for Socialism or submit to having what few rights they have taken away from them and an absolute Industrial Despotism established. Which is it going to be, fellow-workers, a vote for Industrial Despotism or a vote for Industrial Liberty?



THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PARTY

BY

FRANK BOHN



FRANK BOHN.

THE National Progressive party has not resulted from the egotism and spite of one man, nor yet of a group of men. Parties do not grow that way—at least, not parties which are or bid well to be permanent.

The fundamental cause of the National Progressive party lies deep in the history of the past generation in America. On first thought it seems strange that it was so late in coming. But upon careful analysis it is plain that the panic of 1893 and the after results could not possibly have produced a party of constructive radicalism because the most important discontended element of that time was the debt-ridden farmer class of the west. Hence Populism and the Free Silver campaign rolled like a tidal wave over the feeble efforts put forth by the then labor movement to express itself politically. The Henry George movement died with Henry George. The Free Silver movement would have risen had every Populist been laid in his grave.

From the fundamental cause of rapidly increasing poverty on the one hand and a top-heavy plutocratic industrial machine on the other, comes this new party of today. Four specific immediate causes may be discerned. First, corruption in political office. Second, the muck raking campaign beginning in 1904, which has made this corruption known and destroyed the faith that the American middle class hitherto has reposed in national, state and local governments. This accounts for the purely political demands for the initiative and referendum, the recall and direct election of senators. Third, the increasing poverty which happens to take the form of the high cost of living. The middle class in part feels this poverty and in part is becoming ashamed of its wretched effects upon the national life. Fourth, the political fortunes of Theodore Roosevelt.

The panic of 1907-8 for the first time brought the whole nation face to face with the modern social problem in its most critical form. In 1893 the Republicans blamed

the Democratic tariff and the working class believed them. The Democrats blamed the gold standard and the western farmers believed them. In 1907 Wall street attempted to lay the cause of the panic at the door of Roosevelt and that wily gentleman proceeded to develop his national constructive platform. He has before his eyes the success of the English Radical-Liberals lead by the extremist, Lloyd George. The simple game of selecting the greatest ass in the whole country to sit in the President's chair while he prepared himself to again assume possession was soon patent to all but the totally blind. When the Republican machine beat him there was only one possible thing left for him to do and his illimitable egotism braced his nerve to do it. Had Bryan been nominated in Baltimore any new party even with Roosevelt at its head would have cut a sorry figure. But his proverbial good fortune did not forsake him. The Democratic nominee is he whom Roosevelt would have himself have chosen. Wilson is a staid, quiet creature of the older school even in university life, a man whose whole life and work belies the position he is now attempting to assume. He could not stir up a hungry lion with a red-hot poker. The only hope for Wilson's election is the solid South against a divided North and West. And that is quite likely to make him President.

And so under the best possible conditions comes forth the National Progressive Party.

To personally assail Roosevelt is to be both ineffectual and silly. Although he has cleverly taken advantage of the movement, Roosevelt is not the new party by any means. The National Progressive party has grown naturally out of conditions and makes its appeal to three elements in American society. These elements constitute a portion of each class—the plutocratic class, the middle class and the working class.

Among the plutocratic element are George W. Perkins, late of the J. Pierpont Morgan group, George Speyer, President of the Fifth Avenue bank, Frank Munsey and Medill McCormick. These names represent a very large contingent of the American plutocrats who are perfectly willing to back a policy of constructive reform. To the uninitiated this crowd seems to be playing a trick for personal advantages. This is absolutely wrong. These men are class-conscious in the most intelligent way possible. Furthermore, many of them imagine that they are soldiers of the new social war, heroes in a fight which will give them much personal satisfaction and national distinction. An after dinner speech of one of these people is always couched in the following style:

"Fellow citizens, the nation is in a bad way and we alone can save it. If America cannot find hope in us, where is she to look for salvation? Poverty is increasing and the starving poor are raising the blood cry. I hear it and I want you to hear it. Child labor and twelve-hour shifts for women are a disgrace to the country and when I go home and meet my own wife and children and think of it I am heartily ashamed of



"COLONEL" ROOSEVELT.

myself. Our exorbitant tariff is an iniquity and is, furtherfore, no longer needed. Our government is the most rotten west of Turkey. Political conditions cannot be changed until respectable large-minded men like you and me go into politics and take the offices, as they do in England. Why, I was in England last year and everybody despised me because I was not in politics and had no ideas upon social and political questions. You and I, gentlemen, have plenty of money. What we ought to desire more than greater riches are public service and public honors for ourselves and our sons. We must find solutions for the problems that now face us and bring our government abreast of the times so that when we go to Europe we shall not be ashamed of ourselves and our country. I propose a toast to that fearless leader of social progress, Theodore Roosevelt." (Loud applause from everybody under 70 years of age.)

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

A matter of much more significance is the position of the new party toward the middle class. Up to the panic of 1907 and the announcement of Roosevelt's constructive policy there was not a middle class politician representing any group or any shade of opinion but who clamored for the smashing of the trusts. For of all the people on earth who can read and write this same American middle-class shopkeeping and professional crowd is as ignorant as any. It developed the habit of shrieking in unison with any one who howled against the trusts no matter what his political label might be. Most of this element have been driven into clerical positions and are now more interested in lowering the cost of living than they are in trust busting. So the Bull Moose party could well afford to throw overboard the still independent element of middle class business men, bag and baggage. They were forced to do this because to toady to them would have meant a continuation of the fatal and reactionary trust-busting policy still advocated by Bryan and La Follette. "We stand for the elimination of the middle men in order to reduce the cost of living," said Roosevelt in his "Confession of Faith." And the party platform in pointing to co-operation between government and business in Germany declares:

"It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the Democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled not by the national government but by forty-eight conflicting sovereignities."

True, we have here raised up "a new prophet who knows not Joseph."

The Progressive party makes its appeal to those two elements of the middle class which are still mighty with power in votes and in the creation of opinion among the working class—the small farmers and the new middle class in the cities. To the former of these elements it makes the following appeal:

"We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, to re-establish the Country Life Commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach."

Special paragraphs on the development of good roads and parcels post are also calculated to appeal strongly to the small farmers.

To the new middle class of the cities, those hundreds of thousands of clerks and professional people, who receive, let us say, over fifteen hundred dollars a year income each, an appeal is made on the basis of lowering the high cost of living (a promise, which, of course, can never be fulfilled), the promotion of the public health, the extension of the civil service and the raising the burden of taxes through a graduated inheritance and income tax.

A further influence with the middle class and a very strong one must not be overlooked. Whatever is left of the Protestant religion in both England and America is a middle class affair. Anybody familiar with this class realizes that religion has by no means lost its hold. The climax to a Lloyd George speech in England is usually a denunciation of the aristocratic Episcopal church and an appeal to Sectarian hatred of church establishment. The same political game is being played here and with

probably greater success. The Massachusetts delegates on their way to the Bull Moose convention joined in a prayer meeting service in the Pullman car. The convention as a whole sang, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and closed some of its sessions by singing the old Trinitarian doxology. The wide success of the anti-saloon league proves the strength of this element and the Protestant churches are likely to be rallying centers of Progressivism.

THE WORKING CLASS.

In 1867 when Gladstone and Disraeli were the titanic opponents of English politics, Gladstone thought to wrest the government from Disraeli by an extension of the suffrage. But the utterly unscrupulous Disraeli was not to be outdone in that fashion. He flung his "principles" to the winds, proposed a bill much more radical than any Gladstone dared to write and so won the election. "Disraeli stole the Whig's clothes while the latter was in bathing," was the terse phrase which then went the rounds in England. And that is what the Bull Moose party has now done to the reform Socialists here. They picked them up clean, too—undershirt, shoestrings and all. Reform Socialist speakers, now stricken naked to the skin, will be seen going to campaign meetings dressed in empty barrels or perhaps in the fig leaves of personal invective against Roosevelt. "I shall be called a Socialist," said Roosevelt before he made his speech. Not by THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Teddy.

In the development of a sound Socialist movement the National Progressive party is likely to be of inestimable value. Elements of the middle class which cannot understand Socialism and would turn their backs quickly upon it if they did understand it, will find a safe abiding place in the new party. Labor leaders in the American Federation of Labor who are looking for public office, and who produce nothing but turmoil when they come into the Socialist party, will be speedily won over and given their heart's desire by the Roosevelt crowd.

The greatest possible danger to the Socialist party, has been that, with its largely increased voting strength, the grafter, the trimmer and the job-hunter would come to it in numbers so great that the fight to keep it clean and straight would be rendered hopeless. Roosevelt, Tim Woodruff and Jimmy Flynn are welcome to this element. Also a certain portion of the craft unionists of the American Federation of Labor are much more closely allied in interest to the new middle class than to the great body of the unskilled workers. These belong at present in the Progressive party and will go there. Not until the conditions of their lives are changed by industrial progress and until they can be reached by sound revolutionary Socialist education will they be ready for the Socialist party.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE.

Lazarus, feeding hungrily upon the crumbs which fall from his master's table, finds his body from head to foot broken by blows. Here come again our old acquaintance, the dogs of social reform to lick his wounds. Careful, Lazarus, don't move, don't speak, keep your eyes shut, or the dogs will leave you. Industrial insurance to be paid to somebody else after you are dead! Pensions for paupers over seventy when most of the working class die before they are five years of age and nine-tenths, at least, before they are sixty! A wages minimumery law which will make harmless Sunday reading matter for the inmates of a lunatic asylum! Of such is the program of Progressivism.

For men like ex-Senator Beveridge, Governor Johnson, Gifford Pinchot and Harry Garfield we have much genuine respect. But their politics are bound to remain nine parts talk and one part a snare and a delusion for the working class.

THE NEW PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

For fifteen years there has raged in the American Socialist movement a battle unceasing. The struggle has not been due to the character of individuals in the movement. It has been everywhere and always a struggle of principles. On one hand were those who declared that the Socialist movement must proceed by means of political reforms—taking a "step at a time," and emphasizing those reforms, generally to the exclusion of Socialist education. On the other hand are those who maintained that emphasis on reforms should form no part of Socialist propaganda; that it was the

business of the Socialist party primarily to awaken the working class and teach economics and political science; and that only by emphasizing with our utmost strength the need of social revolution could the Socialist party be of any benefit to the working class. These latter always maintain that whatever good could be accomplished through national reforms would come through a reform party when the time for that party was fully ripe. Such a party developed on the Continent thirty years ago and in England ten years ago. We have waited long for its arrival in America, but to the student of European and American history as to those familiar with the trend of current events, its coming was as sure as the coming of the tide.

WHY?

The mission of the National Progressive party is to make the final attempt to save the capitalist system from the impending social revolution. In this mission it is bound to fail and to fail utterly. It will honestly strive to carry out its platform. It will actually attain something of what it seeks. It will be one of the main forces in building up the Socialist party which will overthrow it. It must finally be swept as chaff before the rising floods of the social revolution because

It cannot stay industrial progress.

It cannot lower prices.

It cannot raise wages, its wages minimumery notwithstanding.

It cannot furnish enough jobs in time of unemployment.

It cannot prevent the industrial organization of the unskilled workers.

It cannot prevent the capitalists from fighting the strikers.

It must, much more outspokenly than the English Liberal party, take the capitalist side in time of strikes.

In England the Labor Party is the wagging tail of the Liberal Party. During the recent great strike of the London dockers, when thousands of workers and their families were literally starving to death, the "labor" politicians were occupied in waging a campaign in connection with the insurance legislation of the Liberals. To the working class of the whole world and throughout the coming struggle this disgusting conduct of the "Labor" crowd will stand as an example of hopeless political degeneracy. For what do we behold?

Just this: The chief weekly organ of the Liberal Party, *The Nation,* takes the leaders of the "Labor" Party to task for their desertion of the dockers and urges that they quickly get into the fight and help raise funds for the starving. The Laborites, who for some years have spent their time in trying to appear comfortable in swell clothes and who have simulated the manners and speech of the middle class commoners as well as their political policies, come at last to find themselves ridiculed and spit upon by these same Liberals, and yet the Liberal Party could not have maintained itself in office a week without the acquiescence of the Laborites. This history must be written large before the eyes of our American Socialist Party during the present crisis. We anticipate no Labor Party stumbling and crawling here. The Socialist Party will refuse to ally itself to the National Progressives and it will also with equal firmness refuse to enter into competition with these wholesale distributors of chloroform to the ignorant and slavish portion of the working class. The sham of political reform can be successfully opposed only by exposing the sham, not by greater shamming. Reform Socialists, however, must work with the Rooseveltians or change their tactics completely.

Revolutionary Socialists will fight the new party all along the line because they recognize in that party the most advanced enemy of the ever growing army of the unskilled workers. To its coming partial success and ultimate failure in saving a social system based upon private property we shall not be silent onlookers. This may be their day. Tomorrow belongs to a working class too intelligent for the chloroform bottle and too keen upon realizing industrial freedom to accept the hand-me-down palliatives mis-named "social and industrial justice."



BATTLESHIP SCENE IN NAVY YARD.

FRESH BAIT—'WARE SUCKERS

BY

MARION WRIGHT

THE SENATE recently passed an appropriation measure for $133,000,000 to meet the expenses of the United States navy for the next fiscal year. Most of this enormous sum will pour into the coffers of the steel, gun and powder trusts at extortionate prices for material, for many of the officials authorized to place contracts for ships, armor and guns are in partnership with the steel and powder companies and the rest will be frittered away in the easiest way to get rid of it until time rolls around for the next appropriation.

About $200,000 will be required for the up-keep of the trained man-catchers employed by the navy department to keep the enlisted personnel of the navy up to its standard quota of approximately 48,000 men. Recently it has been necessary to put a number of new flying recruiting squadrons in the field as the old facilities for landing men have proven entirely inadequate. These traveling parties are to search the country with a fine-toothed comb for suitable food for powder and scalding steam.

And the anglers are using fresh bait! Trusting, gullible farmer boys and young tradesmen from the inland states were formerly drawn like flies to a molasses jug by the pretty picture posters of Navy life on the town "Opr'y" house. "Serve your Country," said the flaming posters with their spotless decks and shining guns. But the recruiting offices are no longer filled with eager youths. The young men of America are getting wise to the game. Their older brothers, cousins and friends who have been "joinin'" the Navy since the Spanish-American (Sugar-Trust) war have been coming home again. And Jack has had a story to tell. Although the capitalist

press shuns these stories like a breath of plague, they have a way of getting around and the recruiting officer with his glib tongue is continually running foul of young men who have had friends or relatives who have "been there," and so the recruiting problem is becoming acute. Dozens of ships are laid up in the yards rusting for want of men to man them. At the grand fleet mobilization last fall for the political benefit of President Taft about half the ships were manned with skeleton crews.

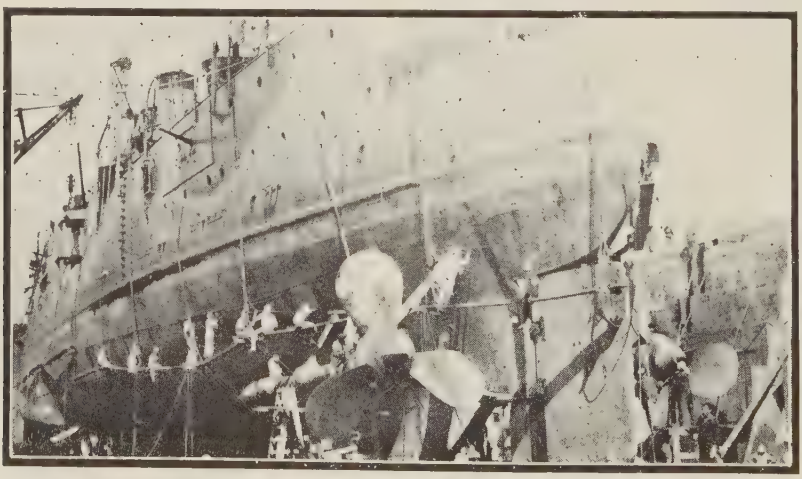
The navy department is cutting away from its circus-poster stunt and getting down to brass tacks. In other words, they place economic facts before the prospective victim now instead of appealing to his cupidity and "patriotism." The green young men of the farm and country towns holding aloof, the recruiting officer goes down to the haunts of men who have been ground betwixt capitalist mill-stones until they are ready for anything, and opens his arsenal of facts.

"Young man, how much money do you earn?" is his opening broadside, and he follows this with a rapid-fire line of what every workingman already knows—that it is impossible for him to earn a decent living—let alone saving anything, and that he is never sure of even a dog's job. In short, it is made perfectly clear to the intended prey by the recruiting officer, who is carefully selected for this line of work, that he must choose between two things; that of continuing to be a capitalistic wage-slave, or becoming (if the victim only knew) an officer's dog. The man-catcher frankly acknowledges the present terrible industrial situation. In fact, he dwells on it—drives it home. He makes it plain that under the present system the workingman has "no chance." And the fine irony of it all is that he is coaxing the poor, blind fool to swear to support to the death the very leech that has already sucked his life blood.

Skillfully it is explained that pay in the navy is fairly good; that there are no strikes; that board, bed and medical attention is free; that chances for promotion are good, etc., etc., etc. And so the sucker bites! What then?

Once hooked, the angler changes his manner toward the catch completely. This American youth must be "broke" immediately. "These United States ideas of independence" are the very first things that are taken out of him—sometimes even before he is sent to the barber to have his hair clipped. If the Medieval ways of handling this Twentieth century man fail to work on the start they will get in their good work before he leaves the training station. He is either "broke" or forced to desert before he goes to sea; and then what?

He is indeed "food for powder" and scalding steam for the rest of his enlistment. During the past nine years 149 men in the United States Navy have been



NAVY SAILORS AT WORK ON SHIP IN DRY DOCK.

They Are Gradually Replacing Citizen Workingmen Since the Citizens Protested Against the Taylor System of Speeding Up.



NAVY SAILORS BURYING A SHIPMATE.

During the Past Nine Years 149 Sailors Have Been Blown to Pieces or Scalded to Death, and 102 Maimed for Life Due to Graft in Gun and Boiler Construction.

horribly cooked and shot to death, and 102 maimed for life in accidents of bursting guns and exploding boilers. Eight men were scalded to death last year in the boiler room of the battleship Delaware, and there is continually news of some naval casualty due to graft in ship construction and reckless management. The sailor is not allowed to question or discuss these things. To any who "opens his face" the severest penalty is meted out.

In the early part of July of this year a sailor on a Navy vessel serving in the Pacific, whose enlistment was to expire in a few days, was suddenly arrested and thrown into the ship's brig. He had written some letters under a *nom-de-plume* calling attention to rotten conditions in the fleet. The officers put secret service men and handwriting experts on the case and located the man. Now, although his four-year enlistment has expired, he will undoubtedly be sent to prison for a long term for writing these letters *while in the Naval service.*

The prospective recruit is shown, in his own language, "only one side of the paper" to which he puts his name. Only the pay, promotion and retirement tables are prominent there. He does not learn that he can be ordered to act as a scab or strike-breaker (navy sailors were recently ordered to take the place of strikers on the Panama line) and be sent to prison for a long term if he so much as hesitates to obey.

He takes an oath to obey "all lawful orders," but another part of the Navy regulations which he is not allowed to see provides that as far as his opinion is concerned, any order given him by a superior is "lawful."

The constitutional right of trial by his peers is unheard of. Officers, only, sit on court-martials, and an officer's word is taken over any number of enlisted men's. All officers are educated in the one snob-factory at Annapolis, and they are bound together in self-interest bands of brass. If a man is accused by an officer his punishment is certain. There is no "comin' clear" in a court-martial; it is merely a question of the extremity of the sentence.

Privacy, even of the person, though one of the most ancient and sacred rights of man, is a jest in the navy. Every man on board ship may be called on deck and forced to stand in line while his personal effects are being ransacked by the officers, ostensibly in a search for liquor or drugs, and many a man has stood under guard while an officer read his private letters in an effort to discover a clew to the whereabouts of a deserter who was known to have been his friend. At inspection a man must stand rigidly at attention and silent as a statue while the officers may finger his chin to see if he

shaved closely enough; pull open his shirt front and inspect his underwear; comment on the length of his hair while pulling his fore-lock, and otherwise treat him as if he were a prize mule on exhibition. There are also times when the crew is lined up and every man, irrespective of his character and habits, is forced to submit his person for examination by the surgeon for evidences of vermin or venereal disease.

Any protest against these outrages is dealt with in the severest manner. Many men have lain in irons for weeks on a diet of bread and water for "silent contempt." Punished because they were unable to repress the blaze of fury in their eyes while being so publicly and thoroughly humiliated.

No longer is the navy job a sinecure. Sailors are now required to perform much of the work at the yards formerly done by civilian workmen, who are becoming more and more "exacting" (which means that they resented the infamous Taylor system of "speeding-up").

The man who goes into the navy expecting something soft gets badly fooled. He swears his soul away for four years and becomes, potentially, a catspaw to snatch chestnuts out of the fire for Capitalism.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE ON THE PACIFIC COAST

An Interview with O. A. Tveitmoe

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

OLAF A. TVEITMOE, of San Francisco, was in Chicago recently, and since he is regarded as a pretty big man in the labor movement on the Pacific Coast, I considered it worth while to get his views on recent developments in the industrial world.

Tveitmoe is a Norseman and looks it. Out on the coast they call him "the viking." He is secretary-treasurer of the State Building Trades Council of California, recording and corresponding secretary of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, editor of "Organized Labor," and a former official of his union, the Brotherhood of Cement Workers. The Government considered him important enough to indict, soon after the McNamara confession, on a charge of being in a conspiracy "to transport dynamite." The indictment was based on a letter of Tveitmoe's, written in 1910, extending the greetings of the season to John J. McNamara, it being near Christmas.

The organizations which Tveitmoe represents took an active interest in the recent free speech fight in San Diego and Tveitmoe himself made a personal investigation of the atrocities committed there, making a report which was printed and widely distributed. Therefore, one of the first questions asked him was about the conditions at present prevailing in that notorious city.

"Well, they are speaking on the streets in San Diego," he said, "and are likely to continue to do so. The vigilantes will be prosecuted for their outrages and murders. If the authorities do not take proper action in the case, the workers and women voters will attend to them in the next election."

"Then you recognize the fact that the San Diego war was not merely a local affair, of interest to only one labor organization?"

"Certainly not," was the reply. "The San Diego fight was our fight just as

much as it was the I. W. W's. We supported them morally and financially, and I was sent there for the special purpose of making an investigation of conditions. The free speech fight in San Diego was a part of the workingmen's struggle throughout California. It was created by interests which have been driven back by organized labor until they have taken refuge in San Diego. One of the capitalists having large interests there is John D. Spreckels, an old enemy of California labor. He is the owner of the San Francisco *Call,* of the *Union* and *Tribune* of San Diego, and is interested in many public utility corporations. He and Gen. Otis, of the Los Angeles *Times,* want to crush out all semblance of organized labor throughout California. Otis came to San Diego last fall and met a committee from the Chamber of Commerce which waited on the city council and demanded the passage of the so-called traffic ordinance, also of the notorious 'move-on' ordinance, which was similar to that enforced in Los Angeles during the Metal Workers' strike. What Otis, and the members of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association wanted to do was to divert attention from the labor troubles in Los Angeles, which were greatly detrimental to their real estate holdings, to San Diego. The San Diego situation was deliberately created by capitalist interests. It was a part of the class struggle on the Pacific coast."

"Then the San Diego war has made for greater solidarity among the labor organizations of California?"

"It certainly has. We realize that it is directly connected with the struggles of the building trades which we have carried on for so long. It reaches back to 1900, when the Millmen's strike brought on one of the first big battles of the San Francisco Building Trades. All the Millmen of San Francisco and Oakland were involved. The issue was an eight-hour workday. The fight was endorsed by the local Council, one of the first acts of which was to build the Progressive Planing Mill, which furnished union-planed lumber and material which our members could use in construction work. This was the first big attempt at co-operation in production ever attempted on the Pacific coast by the unions. It was a success from the start and was largely instrumental in winning the strike. It was owned and operated by the unions and employed as many as 200 or more men at times. When all the mill owners finally yielded, in February, 1901, the victory furnished a stimulant to all the workers in the city and state, causing them to unite as never before. This movement was met by the employers with reprisal measures in the shape of lockouts, culminating in the great Teamsters' and Waterfront Workers' strike of San Francisco in 1901. And from these fierce fights, in which the employers' associations openly used municipal administrations and police clubs to beat down the workers, sprang the Union Labor party of 1901, which elected Schmitz as mayor. These successive fights brought about a feeling of solidarity in the entire labor movement of California, regardless of affiliation. There is now a greater degree of tolerance and better understanding than ever before. The educative work of the Socialists has had much to do with this feeling of class solidarity and their efforts have been of great benefit in many places."

"Is it your opinion that the unions in the American Federation of Labor will yet evolve into a fighting organization industrial in form?"

"I do, yes," was Tveitmoe's reply. "We shall have to have a readjustment among our international organizations, and that soon. At present we have 150 different organizations where fifty would do as well. This condition of affairs is largely responsible for our accursed jurisdictional fights in which the workers have employed all their energies fighting each other instead of the common enemy."

Here Tveitmoe spoke out vigorously and pounded his fists to emphasize his remarks.

"What do you blame mostly for this state of affairs?" he was asked.

"Time contracts and the greed system," he answered promptly. **"Contracts are the most worthless things to which union men have ever pinned their faith. They have never held the employers; they have merely acted as shackles by which the workers have locked their own**

hands and through which they have repeatedly signed away the only right they have—the right to quit work when and where they please. There are centers in which labor has practically committed suicide in signing contracts. The labor movement in New York, for example, and especially in the building trades, has been strangled to death in the grip of the contract system. Contracts mean the protection of the employer and the oppression of the worker. As for the greed system under which we live, it has its hold even upon our own organizations. Look at the situation here in Chicago, where one of the printing trades stays at work while the others are on strike and where men are done to death in fights between rival unions."

"Mr. Tveitmoe, what do you think will be the future of the California labor movement—how do you think things are going to shape up?"

"Well, that's rather a large order," he laughed. "I couldn't undertake to make prophecies in that direction."

"I refer specifically to the developments likely to occur on the opening of the Panama canal. It is widely reported that as soon as the canal is open, the big employers will see to it that a large part of the stream of immigration now landing at eastern ports will be diverted to San Francisco and other cities on the Pacific coast for the purpose of securing cheaper labor and thus reducing wages."

"Ah, that's different!" said Tveitmoe. "I can answer that, partly at least. We have had that problem under consideration for some time, and it will be met. The State Building Trades Council has appointed a committee to join with a like committee from the State Federation of Labor in making plans for this contingency. There is a way. Remember that California is an empire. It has more arable land than some countries in Europe and much more than Japan, for instance. It has an ideal climate and fertile soil. But these natural resources are of little avail to the people as a whole because of three great curses. The first curse consists of the old Spanish land grants, which have locked up vast areas of fine land and left them undeveloped. At one time I wanted our unions to buy some of that land and make it a sort of haven of refuge in time of trouble and a place for the women and children to go to during strikes. We needed to raise only $80,000, but nothing came of it. Since that time, however, we have dug up ten times that amount in strike benefits. We will now make efforts to have those big blocks of land divided up and sold at popular prices. Immigrants will be welcomed to these spots and invited to make their homes there. The second curse to the state is the complete domination and tyranny of the Southern Pacific Railroad. For years it has had the ranchers and farmers at its mercy and has oppressed the population with its exorbitant transportation charges. However, the power of this monster, politically at least, is no longer what it was. Our third curse has been Oriental coolie immigration. Young white workers formerly did not like to come out and compete with these people, with their low standard of living, and the result was that the farm population decreased. In later years the coolies have been found unsatisfactory and white labor has been coming in. But employers have tried to hand these white workers the same treatment that they accorded these submissive coolies, with the result that there has been trouble. A mass of floating workers have accumulated. The I. W. W. has done valuable work among these fellows and recently we have begun organizing them in the A. F. of L. with the co-operation of the farmers' organizations. More than 5,000 of them have been organized in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. They are the sort of fellows who were embroiled in the Fresno and San Diego free speech fights. But Fresno has learned its lesson and when 500 of the boys recently marched from San Francisco to San Diego they were well treated in Fresno and other towns. Some people call these men 'casual laborers.' Others call them 'hobo laborers,' and it is my intention to make the term 'hobo' respectable. In talking to some of our aristocratic workers in the highly paid trades I always call on them to realize that these men are their brothers and must be brought into our unions if the solidarity of labor is to be preserved."



Photo by Nat. L. Hardy.

AT THE WAGON—WHERE THE LITTLE SLAVES ARE RELIEVED OF THEIR LOADS.

THE LAND RENTERS UNION IN TEXAS

BY

T. A. HICKEY

Socialist Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Texas

TO UNDERSTAND the renters union situation it is necessary to know the immense amphitheater upon which the tragedy of their lives is staged.

Texas is the largest state in the Union in area. Between El Paso and Texarkana, a distance greater than from Boston to Milwaukee, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Panhandle, there lies 212,000 square miles. This is an area as large as Germany, with 55,000 square miles to spare and 57,000 square miles larger than France. It is sixth in population amongst the states, containing 4,000,000 people. Less than five per cent of the population is foreign, thus making it the most American of all the states. The factory system is practically unknown, sixty-five per cent of the people living in small towns, villages, cross-road settlements and farms. More cotton is raised in Texas than in any other geographical division in the world, including the valley of the Nile. The enormous production of this great staple makes Texas the greatest agricultural state in the Union, for cotton still is king.

The people of Texas have never been

noted for conservative methods. By tradition and training they are cast in a revolutionary mould. When the great cities of New England, New York and the middle west saw their proletariat bound to the chariot wheels of capitalism without much thought of protest, the Texas worker, the much despised one-gallus fellow at the forks of the creek, was striking fearlessly though blindly at his oppressors.

And thus it has come to pass that the Greenback party, the Union Labor party, the Populist party, the Farmers' Alliance, the Grange, the Wheel and the Farmers' Union have in the past reached their highest development in the Lone Star State.

Agricultural Evolution Plain Here.

In no place in the world can the trend of capitalism along the lines of agriculture be observed at first hand as it can in Texas. The great steam plows and mechanical cotton pickers on bonanza farms can be observed side by side with primitive methods of agriculture, that Potiphar's men might have used in Egypt.

Of still greater benefit to the student of economic development is the fact that this tremendous area has been taken over, within the lives of men now living, by a few great capitalists who possess greater landed possessions than any landlord in Europe ever dreamed of.

I have ridden in buggies over dozens of Texas counties when on a schoolhouse campaign and have had pointed out to me by my driver the great cattle trails over which the cowboys drove their mighty herds to Kansas. The cowboy now is as extinct as the dodo so far as the open country is concerned, and a large number of the survivors are now washing dishes in Chinese restaurants in Fort Worth.

The trail is obliterated, the land is fenced in and the locomotive engineer has taken the place of the cowboy. It is of this fenced-in land that I would write, because, with the coming of the barbed wire the gaunt specter of tenantry raised its head in Texas.

Renters Unknown in 1860.

In 1860 land renters were unknown in Texas. Land could be secured literally for a song. This in spite of the gigantic land frauds that had been going on for years, particulars of which can be found in the chapters on Land Frauds in Texas in Myers's great work, The History of the United States Supreme Court.

A story is told with much relish in Texas that vividly illustrates how easily land was secured at that time. A cattleman rode across the Concho River in '60, dropped off his horse at a tent saloon and found himself unable to pour out his liquor because he was shaking all over with laughter.

"What are you laughing at, Mr. Brown?" inquired the bartender. Said Brown: "I met a durned fool across the line in Coke county this morning. I swapped him a section of land for a calf. The durned fool couldn't read and I'll be dad gassed if I din't work off two sections on him." From this true tale it can be seen that landlordism did not menace the people when the guns roared out at Fort Sumter.

Enormous Land Holdings.

After the war renting commenced. The lines had commenced to tighten even while the armies were battling at the front. Cattle companies fenced in multiplied thousands of acres. The legislature gave away to individuals and corporations many millions of acres. Their gifts to railroads alone amounted to thirty-six and one-half millions of acres, and by the runover system the railroads come into possession of several million acres more. Three million acres was given for the building of the state capitol, which was a scab job. As a result of the wholesale gifts to sharpers the public domain dwindled and enormous land holdings became the order of the day. Thus we find Mrs. King, who resides in Corpus Christi, holds title to 1,400,000 acres of land; it is just fifty miles from her front porch to her back gate. Mr. Wagoner, the Fort Worth banker, owns 800,000 acres in the Panhandle. Colonel Slaughter has title deeds to 600,000 acres. C. P. Taft, the step-brother of the president, has 356 sections. Mr. Higginbottom, of Dublin, Tex., has 125 tenants in one portion of Nolan County, Texas. Mr. Swenson, Wall Street banker, has 1,100 sections in west Texas. Our old friend Post of sawdust fame has 200,000 acres on the plains.



STEALING THE BABIES' PLAYTIME.

I might go on to tell of other enormous possessions, but I have said sufficient to indicate the size of the holdings of the great landholders in Texas.

Obtained by Violence and Fraud.

These holdings came into the possession of their owners in the same manner described by Spencer in the ninth chapter of Social Statics:

"The original deeds were written with the sword; * * * blows were the current coin given in payment, and for seals blood was used in preference to wax."

It was even so in Texas. The cattle companies when stealing the public domain employed gunmen more vicious than the western mining corporations ever dreamed of, and indeed some of the thugs were borrowed by the Mine Owners' Association, notably Bob Meldrum, of whom Haywood could tell a wonderful tale. These gunmen were used to scare away the "Nesters," as the bona fide settlers were called who went out into the wilderness to carve out a home for their wives and babies. Hundreds of them refused to leave and were shot like dogs, when the sun went down!

So plain is this trail of blood and fraud that I am serenely confident that did we but possess a Socialist legislature at Austin, that would be responsive to the best interests of the disinherited masses of Texas, they would appropriate $100,000 to investigate the Land Commissioner's office and the result would be, I am sure, that a number of the smug gentlemen who own great tracts of land in Texas would be deprived of their stolen goods and to save themselves from the penitentiary would seek sanctuary in a less healthy clime than Texas.

Tenantry Inevitable.

In the face of the conditions just sketched it was inevitable that Texas, in spite of her enormous area of free land, should soon find tenantry developing. In 1870 five per cent of the men who tilled the soil in Texas were renters. In 1900 50 per cent were renters, while in 1910 71 per cent is operated by renters, while in the richest black land counties, such as Bell and Falls, 82 per cent of the land is operated by renters. In connection with this I may say that I have had some discussions with some of our socialist statisiticans who claimed that the figures were somewhat less than I have given, but they overlooked the important fact, however, that the average renter needs from 80 to 160 acres, according to his family, to make a living, and that there are 29,118 farmers who own less than nineteen acres, a large proportion of whom are compelled to become renters so that they may live, and this is also true of the 98,363 farmers who own from twenty to forty-nine acres, hence my figures are conservative.

Increasing Rentals.

These renters of Texas, for two genera-

tions, have been accustomed to pay the landlord the traditional third and fourth, which means that of every three bushels of corn and grain that they produce, the landlord takes one; of every four bales of cotton the tenant produces, the landlord takes one. To the intense disgust of the renter, this third and fourth system is passing away. The landlords have commenced to demand a third all round, which means that the tenant must give up one bale out of every three instead of one out of every four.

Then the landlords commenced to demand of the tenant $1 an acre bonus, and some landlords have demanded as high as $2 and $3 an acre bonus as well as the third and fourth. The putting through of these reductions in the renter's income produced a storm of discontent and was the main factor that led to the organization of the Renters' Union, and inasmuch as the economic laws of capitalism will not permit of a reduction in these burdens now being piled upon the renters, it is inevitable that the Renters' Union shall grow until it it the largest union in the United States.

I will now sketch the reasons why the landlords will not and cannot reduce these burdens.

Within the past fifteen years there has been a steady flow of capital to Texas. It was mostly brought to the state by wealthy farmers of Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Ohio and Illinois, who had sold out their lands at an enormous increase over what their fathers had secured them for. They believed they could come to Texas, buy lands at a "reasonable" price and trust to the growth of the state to enable them to secure large piles of unearned increment. They found, however, that the gentleman already on the ground was able to maintain the price of land at a very high figure, largely because of the fact that the public domain had disappeared and all hands were inclined to hold the land which, unlike other things, is a fixed quantity.

Thus it happens that land that in the 70's sold for $2 per acre jumped to $40, $50, $100 and even higher. I was on one section of black land in Bell county near the town of Rogers last year that had just been sold to a Northern man for $150 an acre. The renters who worked this land when it was selling at $50 an acre paid a third and fourth and the landlord was satisfied with receiving a good return upon his investment, but when this land went to $150 an acre the new purchaser found that after meeting the fixed charges he could not secure 2 per cent on his investment, hence he was compelled, in order to receive what he considered an adequate return, to demand, as well as the third and fourth, $3 an acre bonus.

On the poorer lands, where production is not half what it is in the rich black land, a corresponding condition obtains, but the land being cheaper in price causes the landlord to ask a smaller bonus than in the black land belt. In either case the renter finds himself in the same position as the city wage earner. *That is, he just receives enough to keep body and soul together and enable him to prepare for the next day's toil.*

Land Speculators in Clover.

The second reason for the inevitable growth of the Renters' Union is found in the fact that, owing to the antiquated constitution under which the State of Texas is being ruled and that was drafted originally in the interests of the landlords, it is impossible to place an adequate tax upon idle land that is held out of cultivation for speculative purposes. The constitution provides that land shall not be taxed more than 35 cents on the $100, and the actual tax is considerably less than half of that sum.

Hence the million-acre land owners pay this petty tax on the millions of acres of land that they have fenced in and lie back in silent satisfaction as they watch the population growing by the natural growth within the state and the immense immigration from without. To give my readers an idea of the blighting effect upon the renter that results from this policy I will quote from an article published in the Chicago Tribune some months ago that was written by the present governor of Texas, O. B. Colquitt. He said:

"There are 146,000,000 acres of land in Texas that has never felt the caressing touch of the plow; 46,000,000 acres of this land is of a mountainous and arid character, but there is 100,000,000 acres of fine

arable land that has never been tilled." The governor goes on to say. "All the public domain has gone. All of this land is now fenced in, in private hands."

Tenants Increasing.

After pondering over this statement of the governor I would like to then point out that the number of tenants is continuously increasing. In 1900 there were 174,991 white tenants; by 1910 they had increased to 219,106, an increase of 44,115 in ten years.

If we take a pencil and divide the 219,000 tenants into the 100,000,000 acres of arable land that Governor Colquitt speaks of, we find that each renter could have a farm of 456 acres of good arable land, while the other 46,000,000 acres of land is good for stock grazing!

WHAT A TREMENDOUS PRIZE TO STRUGGLE FOR! WHERE IN ALL THE NATIONS IS THERE A DEFINITE, DISTINCT PROLETARIAN GROUP THAT WAS EVER MOVED TO ACTION WITH THE HOPE OF SUCH A REWARD FOR VICTORY?

I will pass over the great, broad fact that all the proletariat of all the nations has all the world to gain by the establishment of the Socialist Republic. My readers will note that I am writing about an industrial union and not about the general philosophy of Socialism. Let us mass the facts that I have set forth.

Here is land far greater in area than the German nation that has been grabbed by a few exploiters in fifty years. From being practically worthless the land has gone to a price that the workers cannot think of purchasing. The great public domain has disappeared. Where there were no tenants there are now 219,000. The bonus system has been introduced. The landlord has increased his demand on the crop, and each year finds the tenant sinking to an ever lower level.

Renters' Union Organized.

These facts have led to the organization of the Renters' Union of North America.

On the fourth day of last November, in the Labor hall in the city of Waco, 110 delegates, from twenty-four counties, met in convention for the purpose of launching the Renters' Union. Every man paid his own expenses, some of them stopped at the dollar-a-day hotels and others slept in the wagon yards. I attended the convention and in consideration of the fact that I had written the first call for the organization in The Rebel on the 15th day of last July, the convention honored me by placing me on the committee on by-laws and constitution in an advisory capacity. I have attended many conventions during my twenty years in the labor movement, but never one that displayed more singleness of purpose, unity of action, clearness of thought or had a cleaner personnel than the men who formed this convention.

The slogan of the convention was: LANDLORDISM MUST GO.

When our labors were completed I returned to my home confident that the groundwork had been laid for an industrial union that possesses greater potential strength than any other union in the nation. This is what the convention decided upon as its course of action:

First, they declared with Chancellor Kent and Sir William Blackstone that use and occupancy was the only genuine title to land.

Second, they declared that a confiscatory tax should be placed on all land held out of cultivation for speculative purposes.

Third, they declared that the organization should be strictly non-political and non-sectarian.

Fourth, they demanded a change in the State Constitution that would secure the objects outlined above.

Fifth, they declared that when the organization was well under way that a committee from the union should be sent to the political conventions of every party in Texas with a request to place in their platforms a plank demanding an amendment to the constitution that would enable them to tax the land held for speculative purposes and that would make use and occupancy the title to land. They further pledged themselves to use all honorable methods to destroy the political party, be it Republican, Democrat, Prohibition or Socialist, that would not accede to their demands.

Sixth, they took a positive stand for industrial autonomy, and while declaring Texas state division No. 1 the parent organization, it should have the right to issue charters in other states, but as soon as forty

local organizations were chartered in the state, then a state convention should be called that would elect state officers and secure autonomy within that state.

Seventh, they struck new ground in a farmers' organization by absolutely prohibiting from membership anyone who was not a bona fide tiller of the soil.

Eighth, they provided that a man who owns his small home might be eligible to membership, but any man who rented as much as one acre of land could not pass the portals of the union.

Ninth, they demanded that the bonus system should cease, that no man should give a third of the crop. That the third in grain and the fourth in cotton should be the limit that they would give the landlord.

Tenth, they arranged for a widespread educational propaganda for the renters, their wives and their children under eleven separate heads.

Eleventh, they placed the dues at the lowest possible level, 50 cents initiation, 15 cents a quarter.

Twelfth, they demanded that all of their affairs, as far as possible, should be conducted by the initiative, referendum and recall.

Headquarters Established.

Headquarters have been established at Hallettsville, Texas, with E. O. Meitzen acting as Secretary-Treasurer. The President is Hugh Moore, who resides at Chilton, Texas. Organizers have been appointed, pamphlets have been written, a constitution and by-laws adopted, a large number of locals have been chartered and when the second annual convention occurs at Waco on November 8 the Renters' Union delegates will meet prepared to take such steps as will bring the entire renting proletariat of the South within the sphere of their influence.

One significant thing may be noticed in connection with this Renters' Union, and that is that it has been of great value to us in building up the Socialist party. It has broken down a wall of prejudice that stood between the renters and the Socialist party. The Democratic party renters have had the big fact rubbed under their nose that it was the Socialists of Texas that were the most active spirits in coming to their assistance when the difficult work of organization was projected. They are commencing to understand the necessity of using both the political and economic arm. Their old-time leaders are being put to the test and found wanting. Their union is drawing the class line taut. Before the launching of the Renters' Union the landlord and tenant would walk arm in arm to the same primary, but now they separate at the union door and the renter is beginning to vote for the interest of himself and his class.



"BENDING TO IT"—IN THE COTTON FIELD.

SHALL ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI BE MURDERED?

Manifesto Issued by the General Executive Boards of the

YOUNG SOCIALIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

and the

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF SWEDISH WORKERS

FROM across the Atlantic ocean there comes an urgent appeal for assistance. Ettor and Giovannitti, two prominent men in the American labor movement, are about to be legally murdered in Lawrence, Mass., U. S. A. The committee charged with their defense appeals to the workers of the whole world to give their support by writing protests and sending them to the American authorities and especially to the President of the United States and to Governor Foss, Boston, Mass.

After due deliberation the General Executive Board of the Young Socialist Party of Sweden has come to the conclusion that international solidarity demands that measures be taken, which are more effective than a mere written protest.

We fear that these protests will be thrown, unread, in the waste basket. With the knowledge we possess of the American capitalist class, we believe that they intend, in spite of all protests, to take the lives of Ettor and Giovannitti, if harsher means are not resorted to. And we consider it an imperative duty for the workers of Europe to do their utmost, in order to force the American capitalists to set these two labor leaders free.

In thus taking the initiative towards international action, by bringing the matter before the international central organizations, we could advance many good reasons for so doing.

Not counting the fact that labor's cause is one and common throughout the whole world, thus making an injury to one an injury to all, we have this special cause for interceding, that about one-third of the Swedish working class lives in America and there suffers under the oppression of capitalism. We also have a debt of gratitude to pay to the American workers who during the general strike of 1909, so liberally came to our assistance.

But even if these special causes did not exist, we need not make any apologies for the step we are taking.

We wish, therefor, to request the *International Trade Union Secretariate:*

1. To take steps towards establishing a world-wide boycott of all American goods, and

2. To request the organizations of transportation workers in all the countries of the world to refuse from a certain date, to have anything to do with vessels and goods arriving from or departing for America, until Ettor and Giovannitti shall have been liberated.

We, furthermore, address a request to the *International Secretariate* and to the *International Socialist Bureau,* to cause the matter to receive the greatest possible publicity, in order that the world's workers may arouse themselves to an understanding of the necessity of immediate action, if the lives of Ettor and Giovannitti are to be saved.

We are convinced that in the face of such a world boycott of American goods and a world blockade of American vessels, the American capitalist class will stop and consider the tremendous loss we could inflict upon them in this manner surely would be of greater effect than written protests.

Finally we request and admonish all *Swedish workers,* from this day until the liberation of Ettor and Giovannitti, to completely boycott all American goods of all kinds, such as bacon, meat, fish, flour and canned goods; shoes, hats, collars, bicycles, graphaphones, knives, arms, etc., etc., etc., of whatever kind they may be. We also

request all Swedish sailors, longshoremen and transportation workers to absolutely refuse to handle vessels going to or coming from America.

We also wish to suggest to all brother organizations in other countries, to start a similar agitation and to continue same until Ettor and Giovannitti are free.

Should we neglect to do our utmost and thus allow the murderous designs of the American capitalist class to be carried out, then the blood of our brothers is upon our conscience.

Let us therefore, over the whole world, unite our forces to liberate Ettor and Giovannitti.

THE FIGHTING I. W. W.

BY WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

"The first fight was in the night. Now comes the dawn, the sword is drawn, the scabbard thrown away."

THAT the Industrial Workers of the World are in a class by themselves is indicated by the uniformity of condemnation this organization receives from the many diversified sources and representatives of apparently conflicting interests.

Mr. Samuel Gompers gives vent to strictures peculiar to himself. Mr. John Henry Kirby condemns the I. W. W. in no uncertain terms. Mr. Daniel DeLeon has phrases of his own in which he curses the Industrial Workers of the World. Mr. Victor L. Berger joins the chorus with four hands round singing "Hallelujah, I'm a bum".

While this redoubtable quartette are cursing and reviling what to them is a growing menace, the overworked and underpaid workers are organizing and understanding themselves, refusing longer to surrender their well-being to the care of any well-meaning representatives. The workers are massing in the I. W. W. and are acting for themselves. Such self-assurance has struck terror to the hearts of wily politicians, lazy labor leaders and greedy capitalists alike.

The militant spirit of the awakened proletariat has brought upon their innocent and unsuspecting heads the most vile abuse and vicious persecution.

The Lumber Trust has inaugurated a most pernicious and inhuman blacklist against the members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Los Angeles Labor Council in sycophantic fawning has likewise denied I. W. W. members recognition as an integral part of organized labor in Otis-land.

Vigilantes of San Diego in spasms of brutal hysteria have branded the letters I. W. W. in living human flesh.

Authorities of Clinton, Mass., have spattered the head-stones of the dead with the blood of living men and women, members of the I. W. W., who were cruelly wounded by the haters of liberty, thus dedicating and consecrating the quiet churchyard to the cause of Industrial Freedom.

Among the cypress and pines of Louisiana at Grabow, a lumber camp, was the scene of a murderous assault that killed and wounded many members of the I. W. W. The echo of the volley sounded the tocsin and the workers are answering the call.

From Aberdeen, Wash., to Perth Amboy, N. J., from Circle City, Alaska, to Juarez, Mexico, brave women and brave men are singing revolutionary songs of discontent.

Prison walls reverberate with the battle cry of the Internationale. Organizers and agitators are afield. But the real work of the organization, the voice of liberty comes from those imprisoned.

From jail Ettor delivers his Sermon on the Common to the multitudes.

Giovannitti's poems are sung in the tongues of all nations.

Emerson sends his message of hope from a prison cell to the slaves of the Southern forests and swamps.

The pathetic silence of Buccafori adds fuel to the flames of protest and bitterness.

With failing eye-sight Tom Whiteside in the dim light of Canada's dungeon can see the dawn of labor's new day.

The martyrs of Imperial Valley join hands with Jack Whyte of San Diego and his fellow workers and start a local in the prison of California.

From hundreds of prison cells and dungeons grim comes the battle cry of the Industrial Workers of the World. Nor can imprisonment, injunctions nor death itself stop the onward march of humanity.

We have been your slaves, your tools, your stepping stones to power. We have been meek, dumb, driven cattle. We know your true worth now, Gompers, Kirby, DeLeon, Berger. You have mocked us in our agony!

One hundred fifty of us in jail in British Columbia, the filthy cells of Hoquiam and Aberdeen are filled with our men. Twenty of us are festering in the prison cell in the prison of San Diego. In the terrible dungeons of Lake Charles, La., we are fifty-four. The hearts of all of us are beating in unison with our fellow workers in New Jersey and Massachusetts jails.

From behind the walls and bars of prisons comes the mighty cry for Industrial Freedom. Those of us who are in jail—those of us who have been in jail—all of us who are willing to go to jail—we care not what you say or what you do! We despise your hypocrisy. The fight is on, on with the fight. We are the Revolution!



—Adapted from cartoon in New York Call.



PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRIES TRADE UNIONS INTO ONE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

Forces Making for Industrial Unionism in the British Trade Union Movement

BY

Alderman J. V. WILLS, Operative Bricklayers' Society

THE rapid march of economic development in Great Britain, as in other capitalist countries, and the inevitable industrial conflict of the working class with the master class have revealed in unmistakable manner the relative ineptitude of craft or sectional form of organization, either as a weapon of attack or defense. Consequently the workers' attention is turned to a more reliable weapon with which to fight. And here let it be noted that those who have accepted the philosophy of industrial Unionism, those who are able to see the logical method and outcome of economic development, have not been slow to take full advantage of every opportunity to see that their principles receive first consideration. Full advantage has been taken by the militants to bring those principles to the front in the trade union branches and in the columns of the union journals. And here I should like to mention that great strides have been made as a result of Comrade Bill Haywood's visit to this country in 1910, and still later the return to these shores of Tom Mann who, with his fiery propaganda, has had a tremendous influence in attracting the serious attention and consideration of both the organized and unorganized worker to this highly important side of the working class movement. The propaganda has flourished,

and opinions have been changed to such an extent that in the same year, 1910, we see a growth in the old conservatively cherished ideas of craft unionism by the trade union congress itself passing the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of this Congress, the present system of sectional trade unionism is unable to successfully combat the encroachments of modern capitalism, and, while recognizing the usefulness of sectional unionism in the past and present, the Congress realizes that much greater achievements are possible, and the redemption of the working class would be hastened if all the existing unions were amalgamated by industries, with one central executive, elected by the combined unions, and with power to act unitedly whenever there is a strike or a lock-out in any industry, thus making the grievance of one the concern of all. The Congress, therefore, instructs its parliamentary committee to put themselves in communication with all the trade unions in Great Britain, and ascertain their views on the above question, also to promote a general scheme of amalgamation, and make a recommendation on the matter to the next Congress."

For the resolution.....	1,175,000
Against	256,000
Majority for	919,000

Here we see the first national expression in favor of a change. But, as you will note, the voting was not unanimous. Now observe a year later, 1911. This year will go down in history as one in which the trade unions of Great Britain were engaged in one of the stiffest struggles of their time with the master class. Virtually a life and death struggle. And side by side with this we see the employers perfecting their power by syndicating and amalgamating wholesale, in order first to eliminate all waste and unnecessary expenditure in production, and second, to offer consolidated resistance to any demand of the workers for improved conditions. These, then, were the forces the workers were up against and the schoolmaster of experience had taught the doubtful such a lesson that we see in the 1911 trade union congress the following resolution carried unanimously:

"That this Congress, recognizing the increased power of the capitalists in closing up their ranks and their adoption of improved methods, deplores the lack of similar consolidation among the workers. It urges, therefore, that the parliamentary committee take steps to call conferences of the different industries, with a view of amalgamating the several trade unions connected with each industry."

When it comes to be remembered that the delegates to the congress numbered 523; the societies represented 202; and with a total membership of 1,662,133, the progress of the idea is something in the nature of the marvelous.

In the meantime, however, the advocates of industrial unionism, whilst being distinctly encouraged by the turn of events, realized the need of "getting together," so that a regular, uniform and consequently more effective propaganda could be entered upon.

In this connection we see the birth of a committee which was destined to play an important part in moulding the movement upon scientific lines. "The Provisional Committee for Consolidating the Trade Unions in Building Industry Into One Organization."

It first saw the light in February, 1911. At the commencement it numbered only about a dozen sympathizers, but in a short time it grew to immense proportions. It was the medium through which the active men in each union could work, until today we have representations from the Painters' Society, Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, Operative Stone Masons, United Builders' Laborers' General Union of Carpenters,Amalgamated Order of General Laborers, National Association of Operative Plasterers, National Association of Operative Plumbers, Electricians' Union, Operative Bricklayers' Society, Masons and Paviors, etc., etc. The Operative Bricklayers gave it a kind encouragement at the outset by, first, granting the committee a meeting hall, rent free, for the purpose of carrying on their work; second, by a good money grant to start the propaganda.

The committee lost no time in getting to work; they immediately published a leaflet explaining how they came into existence, what they stood for, and their methods of spreading the gospel.

In a word, their aims are to organize the working class along the lines of industry, upon the basis of the class struggle, in order that we may, in conjunction with the political weapon, eventually dethrone King Capital from society. But I shall return to that more fully later on.

The leaflets, methodically distributed in the various building trades unions, soon brought a request from branches all over the country, to send speakers to explain our views, and as far as voluntary effort would allow the demand has been supplied. I should here like to mention that our secretary of the provisional committee, George Hicks, was at this time a member of the executive council of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, and rendered us valuable service in successfully establishing this committee.

Now, to resume, we have, in addition to publishing 30,000 leaflets upon sectional unionism, our thrice-cursed national insurance act and how it affects amalgamation. On these subjects 100 meetings were addressed. And it was one of our members, Ted Morris, Operative Bricklayers' Society, who moved the resolution at the 1911 trade union congress previously referred to.

This provisional committee has attained a position of exalted influence. Amongst other things in September, 1911, when the supreme council of the Operative Bricklayers' Society held their annual meeting, they decided to set up inside their society a consolidation committee for the purpose of trying to bring about a unison of forces connected with the building industry. After a few preliminaries with the executive council we were invited to send two representatives to form part of that consolidation committee. The provisional committee accepted the offer and elected our secretary, George Hicks, and myself to represent them there. This, I think, constitutes a record, in so far as any one union has set up inside its own society, a special committee to deal alone with trying to amalgamate the unions in a given industry, and for that purpose decides to give representation to ideas from others than their own members in order to accomplish that objective. That committee also got to work and drafted a leaflet as follows:

OBJECT—ONE UNION FOR THE BUILDING INDUSTRY.

FELLOW WORKERS,

Recent events affecting the position and influence of organized labor has led to a general revival of interest among the industrially organized workers on the question of the best means to be adopted to increase the power of the fighting arm of our class—the trade unions. Almost universally the cry has gone up for the greater unity of action among the unions catering for the workers in a given industry. Therefore we, the members of the above Committee, wish to submit the following suggestions and proposals to you, hoping they will receive your careful consideration and support:

SECTIONAL UNIONISM.

Sectional unionism is no longer able to cope with the conditions and problems of modern industry in the building trades. During late years a complete change has taken place in the construction of buildings, as regards the materials used, and also the part played by labor. Machinery, specialization, and speeding up of manual labor have broken down, in a large measure, the craftsmanship which was a great factor in the former power of existing forms of industrial organization, and has greatly reduced the time formerly required for the erection of buildings. Needless to say, this has increased the competition among the workers, increased the periods of unemployment, and made great inroads on the old trade lines.

All this has meant endless demarcation disputes among the various sections of skilled workers, leading to bitter struggles between trade unions catering for allied crafts, and the wasting of our fighting strength in internal disputes, whose only effect has been to consolidate the power of the employing class. Against the solidarity of the masters we have appeared weak in comparison, each section fighting for its own hand, and making separate agreements with the employers, which they (the masters) have skillfully used to suit their own ends, *i. e.*, to prevent united action by the workers. The result of this policy has had disastrous effects, due to the misguided belief among the workers that industrial organization is played out. We are no longer respected, because we are no longer feared. Now, if this state of affairs is to be improved, we have no hesitation in saying that new methods of organization, coupled with a new policy, will have to be adopted.

THE NEW METHOD.

The new method of organization we suggest is the amalgamation of existing trade unions catering for the workers engaged in the building trades. Such an organization should be constructed so as to admit to membership all workers employed in the building industry. This recognition by our organizations of the common interests of all who work for wages will have the desirable effect of breaking down the prejudices which have divided our forces in the past, and through having ONE union for the building trades, make our industrial organization a power again.

A fighting policy will draw again to our ranks the workers who are at present unorganized. Even with our present membership much could

be done to improve our working conditions. A great amount of the present senseless cut-throat competition in output could be avoided, and a general movement could be undertaken to raise wages and shorten the hours of labor. A properly organized propaganda, from convenient centers, would also be effective in unifying the rates of wages of the various grades in a given area.

INTERNAL.

Internal organization should be of such a character as to allow of the fullest freedom for the various grades to discuss and promote the advance of their sectional interests in line with the general policy of the whole organization.

Sectional strikes should be reduced to the lowest possible margin consistent with the maintenance of a *fighting* organization. When a district or a national stoppage is decided on, all sections should be prepared with claims for improved conditions. One of the immediately pressing needs is the abolition of long agreements, and the unifying of the time set for their expiration, so that concerted action is possible for the industry all over the country.

We have thus briefly enumerated some of the advantages to be gained from an amalgamation of existing trade unions; we therefore suggest the following as the Name, the Object, and the Immediate Functions the organization should take:

NAME.—The Building Workers' Industrial Union.

OBJECT.—To unite the present building trades' unions into ONE union, embracing the whole of the wage workers engaged therein; with a view to building a union which, in conjunction with other industrial unions, will ultimately form the framework of the machinery to control and regulate production in the interests of the entire community.

IMMEDIATE FUNCTIONS.—1st. To maintain a fighting organization, working to improve the material conditions of the workers engaged in the building industry; to take joint action with other similar unions in the furtherance of the interests of the workers nationally and internationally, believing that the interests of all wage workers are identical.

2nd. The systematic organization of propaganda among the workers, upon the necessity of becoming organized on the industrial field, upon the basis of class instead of craft. Organize by industry as workers, instead of by sections as craftsmen.

FINANCIAL.—1st. For trade purposes, a uniform scale of contributions and benefits.

2nd. The amalgamation of the friendly side benefits into a separate account.

HOW TO HELP.

For carrying on an immediate propaganda in favor of the above suggestions, members everywhere should form groups of branches to discuss the subject. Later, grouped meetings of the various trade unions concerned should be held, and resolutions should be drafted and forwarded to the various executive bodies, asking that a vote of the members be taken on the subject by a given date. If the result is favorable, a grouped national delegate meeting of all the building trades' unions should then be demanded, to formulate proposals for the suggested amalgamation.

The above committee are only too anxious and willing to receive communications from, and information about, any building trade union, or any committee or branch, concerning the above, and shall be pleased to place at their disposal any information they may have, and if possible cooperate with them in the best interests of this great movement.

Signed,

H. J. ADAMS.
JAMES LANE.
J. V. WILLS.
WALTER DAVIS.
BENJAMIN T. AMES.
GEORGE HICKS, *Chairman.*
JOHN BATCHELOR, *Secretary.*

Arrangements were made for special meetings of its members to consider the leaflet, with the result that it was adopted by 186 branches to 12, and by the part this leaflet has subsequently played it bids fair to become one of the most historical documents in the British trade union movement.

Having obtained this mandate from its members, the consolidation committee called upon the parliamentary committee of the trade union congress to put into operation the resolution that was carried at the last congress, instructing them to call conferences of the unions in a given industry, and with the assistance of provisional committee they were stirred to move. A conference was held at Essex Hall, Strand, London, on April the 18th, 1912, and the following societies were represented:

Societies Represented.	Membership.
Operative Bricklayers' Society	23,000
General Laborers' Amalgamated Union	1,440
Amalgamated Slaters and Tilers' Society	929
Gasworkers and General Laborers	32,000
Amalgamated Union of Labor	22,000
French Polishers	1,000
Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, Hydraulic and Boiler Attendants	....
National Association of Builders' Laborers.	2,300
Scottish Painters' Society	2,950
General Union of Carpenters and Joiners	6,000
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	56,000
Operative Stonemasons' Society	7,000
Manchester Unity of Operative Bricklayers.	1,655
Plumbers' Association	10,907
United Builders' Laborers	1,900
National Amalgamated Painters	14,909
Street Masons, Pavers and Stone Dressers.	800

After considerable discussion the following resolutions, submitted by the Operative Bricklayers' society delegates were carried:



OPERATIVE BRICKLAYERS' CONSOLIDATION COMMITTEE.

Top Row—J. V. Mills, A. J. Adams, B. T. Ames, J. Lane.
Bottom Row—J. Hicks, Chairman; J. Bachelor, Secretary; W. Davies.

1. That this Conference expresses its adherence to the resolutions passed by the last two Trade Union Congresses embodying the principle of amalgamating the present Trade Unions in the various industries, and therefore we, the representatives of the Building Trade Unions, consider the time is now opportune to put the principle into operation in our industry.

2. That a Committee be appointed from this Conference, to consist of one member from each society represented, to draw up a scheme to give effect to the previous resolution, such scheme to be submitted to the next Conference.

Immediately following this conference the provisional committee got to work. The decision of the conference was made known to its members, who transferred the news to the rank and file, which gave the movement the stimulus and backing that was required to make the work of the committee that had been appointed by the conference a success.

The bricklayers' consolidation committee met and instructed their delegates to the committee to move their four page leaflet as a basis for a voting paper, the same to be submitted to all the members of the unions concerned.

With slight alteration the proposal was adopted, and the adjourned conference, to which the committee reported unanimously, accepted the committee's recommendation. In order to secure a uniform voting paper, the conference requested that the parliamentary committee be allowed by the unions to issue the voting paper.

In the meantime the bricklayers' consolidation committee, recognizing that its work was in no way complete, and seeing the need for the continuation of a uniform and vigorous campaign in favor of the ideas

embodied in its leaflet, issued a syllabus of a lecture to its members, by which it hopes to encourage and enlist the support of a great number of advocates of industrial solidarity.

Encouraged by the progress made in the building industry and recognizing the need for an extension of the principles to other industries, the following resolution has been placed on the adjenda of the coming trade union congress by the bricklayers' society, when, together with the aid of the report of the conferences of the building industry, it is hoped to influence the other unions to take similar steps:

"That this conference reaffirms the resolutions passed at its last two conferences Sheffield and Newcastle respectively, upon amalgamation of the present trade unions by industry, and wishes to record its appreciation of the efforts made by the parliamentary committee and the gratifying response of the various trade unions in the building industry; and urges upon the parliamentary committee to call conferences of the other unions in the various industries, with a view of completing the instructions laid down in the Newcastle resolution. Furthermore, as a means of assisting this movement, it be an instruction to the parliamentary committee to inaugurate an educational campaign in favor of amalgamation of the existing trade unions by industry."

To further assist the movement to success the provisional committee are about to issue a manifesto to urge upon the members in the unions concerned to be not only sympathetic, but to cast their votes in the direction of industrial solidarity.

Before closing, mention should be made of the committee for "amalgamation of the existing trade unions." Like the provisional committee, its chief activities are centered in London, and its army of propagandists are doing good work. It embraces all trade unionists, regardless of the industry to which they belong, and in that way I am afraid it has a tendency to become unwieldy. Nevertheless, its efforts, which are entirely voluntary, are aiming in the right direction, as their diagram will show. (See next page.)

While I do not necessarily endorse their grouping, the idea is extremely useful in attracting and focusing the mind of the worker upon the issue.

I hope by this contribution to have proved the recent contention of Luella Twining, that "Europe is ablaze with the sentiment of industrial unionism."

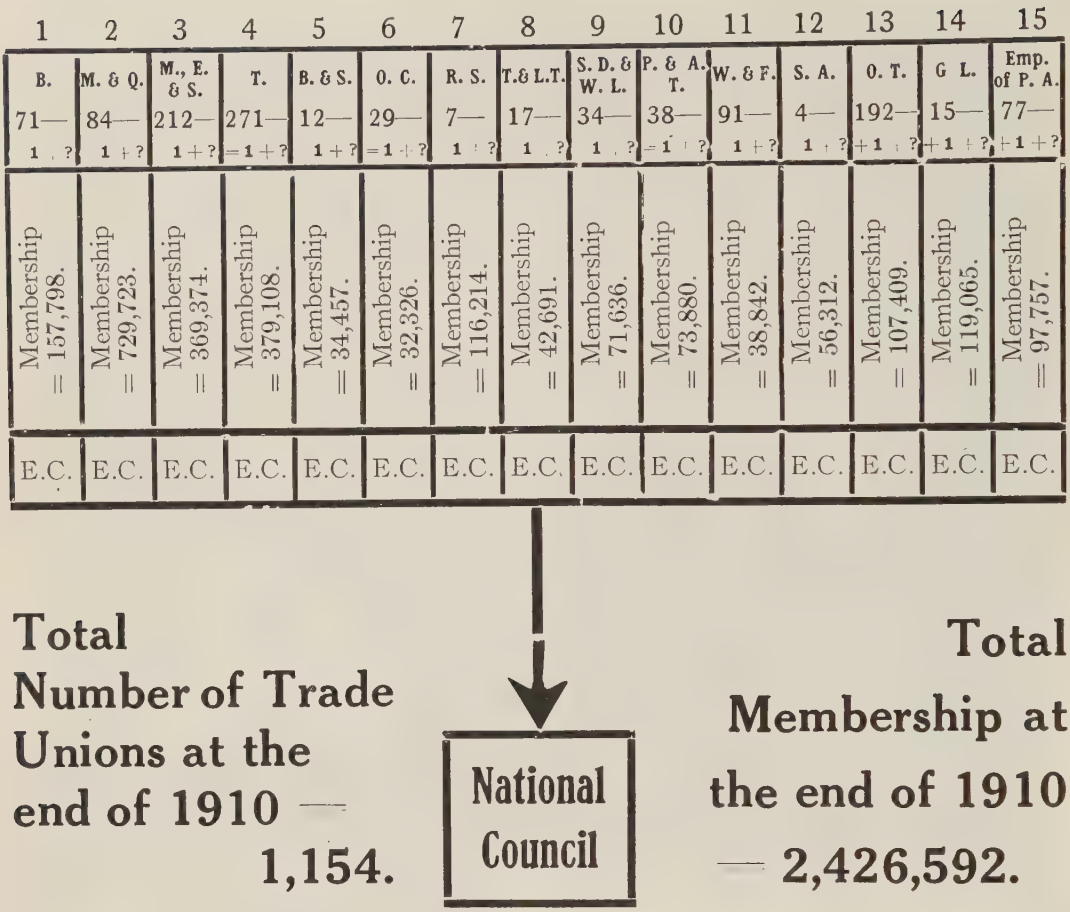
It certainly proves that the British trade unionist is awakening to the fact that the old weapon of craft unionism has lost its usefulness, and that if they are to be successful combatants in the class struggle, they have got to forge a more modern weapon to fight the entrenched forces of organized capitalism.

With the growth of industrial unionism the down-trodden workers will receive first hope and inspiration and a better understanding of the magnitude of the issue that is before them.

"The coming day, the future hope,
When right to wrong shall bow
And hearts that have the courage mean
To make that future NOW."



J. V. WILLS.



NOTE—How to read this Diagram. Each column represents one industry with its allotted number of Trade Unions as grouped by the Board of Trade. The dash after the top Numbers shows that we want to reduce the Numbers to one, or as near as possible. The squares and E.C. at the bottom of each column denotes one Executive Council for each industry. The large square and National Council denotes how each industry should be connected to one centre, which would have representatives of each E. C. elected to serve on that council.

The following are the Names of each each column:—(1) Building. (2) Mining and Quarrying. (3) Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding. (4) Textile. (5) Boot and Shoe. (6) Other Clothing. (7) Railway Servants. (8) Tramways and other Land Transport. (9) Seamen, Dock and Wharf Labour. (10) Printing and Allied Trades. (11) Woodworking and Furnishing. (12) Shop Assistants. (13) Other Trades. (14) General Labour. (15) Employees of Public Authorities.



LOOKING FOR WORK IN DETROIT.

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

BY L. A.

EVER since man began to enjoy the fruits of knowledge he has had to solve the problem of moving from place to place, without the trouble of walking. He pictured in his imagination a means of unlimited individual locomotion, and was satisfied for a time that some fellow creature-man, or beast, should move him and his burdens about wheresoever he pleased. But this was not his ultimate goal. He dreamed of some means of locomotion in a distant future, when physical power should be dispensed with and mechanical power take its place. In short, he dreamed of a Horseless Age.

Not until the 13th century do we find any mention of this coming era, when Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, predicted that "We will be able to propel carriages with incredible speed without the use of animal power." He also predicted the steamship and the flying machine.

It was Leonardo da Vinci who, in the 15th century, made some rough plans of an auto-car. Two centuries later a Nuremberg carriage manufacturer invented a chariot going by springs and making 2,000 paces an hour.

Various other propelled vehicles were invented, but it was left to Watt to partially solve the problem, when he invented the steam engine.

With the advent of this great invention dates not only the steam carriage but all the subsequent inventions in machinery.

Progress in the automobile was not evidenced until Daimler, a German engineer, perfected the gasoline engine. He is rightly called the father of the present automobile.

In the United States the rapid progress in machinery has aided in building up a large and successful automobile industry. According to the 13th census there were 57 factories of automobiles and parts in 1899; while in 1909 there were 743, with a total number of 85,000 employes. We may safely add 30 or more factories up to date. Detroit alone produces two-thirds



WHERE THE PRESIDENT OF AN AUTOMOBILE COMPANY LIVES.

of the total number of cars manufactured in the United States, and the output is being increased every year.

Now that the commercial car has made such rapid advances, this industry is now on a well established basis. It earns enormous profits for the stockholders, and Wall street is keenly watching its growth. Improved methods of production and the eliminating of skilled labor is also a factor in increasing dividends in this industry. Besides, the concentration into fewer and fewer hands and the standardizing of the parts that go to make up the car, are considered profitable, as it eliminates waste, both as regards competition and in experimental work. As in other large industries the trust solves these problems.

The General Motors Co. controls nearly thirty large automobile factories, and has branches all over the United States and continental Europe. It is also allied with the United States Motor Co., which in turn controls about 15 automobile factories. This latter organization is backed by Thomas F. Ryan and other Wall street gamblers. The General Motors Co., with its allied interests, can offer pleasure and commercial cars for from $300 to $6,000. It also manufactures electric trucks. So it bids fair to strangle other concerns or they will be compelled to merge with the trust.

The president of an automobile concern in Detroit appeared before the Senate investigating committee on trusts, complaining that a small manufacturer can not have a chance to sell his cars, owing to the advent of the Automobile Trust. The same gentleman is chairman of a committee of automobile manufacturers that filed a brief with the finance committee of the United States Senate, protesting against the reduction of the tariff on automobiles. The reason given was that old worn out lie, "To protect American labor." This brief was put into pamphlet form and distributed to the workmen in the shops. It was intended as a warning, that, should the attempted cut in the tariff take effect it would necessitate a cut in wages. (We have had enough of this dope to know that it has always been a pretext to scare the wage slaves into submission.) The gentlemen in question demonstrated this fact by cutting the wages of his slaves before the tariff on automobiles came up for discussion in the finance committee.

In this shop a man who gets a job must first pass a doctor's examination. Of course, strong men are needed to withstand the speeding up that has become an established fact in this and other shops. The premium system is being installed everywhere. It is alleged that the head "Speed

Kings," as they are called, will receive at the end of one year 35 per cent on the amount of money saved by speeding the men. In order that more work should be gotten out of the men, the machines are run on first speed. Where formerly one man attended to one machine, now in many instances he is compelled to run two and three machines. The men in all shops are at the mercy of unscrupulous slave drivers who get a bonus for time and money saved in production in their respective departments. To quote from "Shop Talks," issued weekly by an automobile corporation:

"R-C-H employes are coming through a pretty severe test right now. Since the 1913 models came out we have been kept hustling every minute getting out cars that we need, to take care of our dealers. . . . The figures on production each day are posted in various departments and they have to be reached to hold up the production end before the factory closes each night. The R-C-H plant is no place for the shirker. Some fellows have not been able to stand the gaff. They have quit, and quit cold. One morning last week a man passed Mr. Hupp, putting on his coat and hat. The president wanted to know what was the matter. 'O, a little too speedy for you,' observed the president."

This speaks for itself.

Typical of the enormous profits made in the automobile industry and the low wages paid, is a concern which sells its car for $690, and the average labor cost per vehicle is $90. Sometime ago there was talk of a strike in this shop, but it was skilfully averted by granting a 9-hour day to the men. In passing, let me say that, with the exception of two auto factories, the men in all others work ten hours a day.

The shop above mentioned is a real slaughter house. There are hundreds of accidents every day and the shop hospital is kept busy every minute attending to the victims of the inhuman speeding up. Hundreds quit, not being able to stand the strain, but there is always an army on hand to take their places. Wages all along the line are very low; 22 and 25 cents per hour is the prevailing scale, and there is a tendency on the part of the manufacturers to establish an average wage of 22½ cents per hour for skilled labor. Rent and other necessaries of life being high, the auto workers are trying hard to stretch the dollar.

Detroit is well known as an open shop town, and the manufacturers are doing their best to keep it open. They are advertising



"HOME" OF AN AUTOMOBILE WORKER.

all over the country for men while the town is already flooded with unemployed. Not being satisfied with this scheme, in conjunction with real estate sharks and business men, they have inaugurated a yearly carnival, which they name "cadilaqua," and are advertising it all over the country. "To boom Detroit," is the intention, of course, and at the expense of the workingmen's jobs. Detroit will eventually face a serious problem as a result. Already the workers are beginning to show dissatisfaction. Many are eagerly listening to the message of Industrial Unionism and are joining the One Big Union. Craft scabbery is a dead letter to them. The manufacturers are aware of this commotion as indicated by the following. At the front of a shop an address was delivered on Industrial Unionism by J. V. Thompson, organizer I. W. W. The general manager tried to stop the meeting but failed. The next day he gave orders that a band concert be held every noon hour in front of the shop so that the attention of the workers be diverted from agitators. Other factories are distributing leaflets to the slaves condemning "certain elements that preach discontent," at the same time telling the dollar-a-day laborer that he and the boss are brothers. But the slaves see it differently, and the time don't seem to be far distant when the auto-workers will beat the employers at their own game, under the revolutionary banner of Industrial Unionism.

BLANKET STIFF PHILOSOPHY

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

THE SCUM PROLETARIAT IS AN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS ELEMENT THAN THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT. IT IS A WARTISH GROWTH ON THE BODY POLITIC SOMETIMES ATTACHING ITSELF TO WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS, COMPOSED OF LAWYERS, PREACHERS, AUTHORS, LECTURERS, AND INTELLECTUAL NON-PRODUCERS GENERALLY.

POVERTY IS A SOCIAL DISEASE THAT CAN BE CURED ONLY BY A GENERAL CESSATION OF WORK.

SOCIALISM IS THE MOTHER OF HUMANITY, SIRED BY FEUDALISM AND DAMNED BY CAPITALISM.

CHARITY IS THE PILLAR OF POVERTY.



BE A PARTY BUILDER

BY

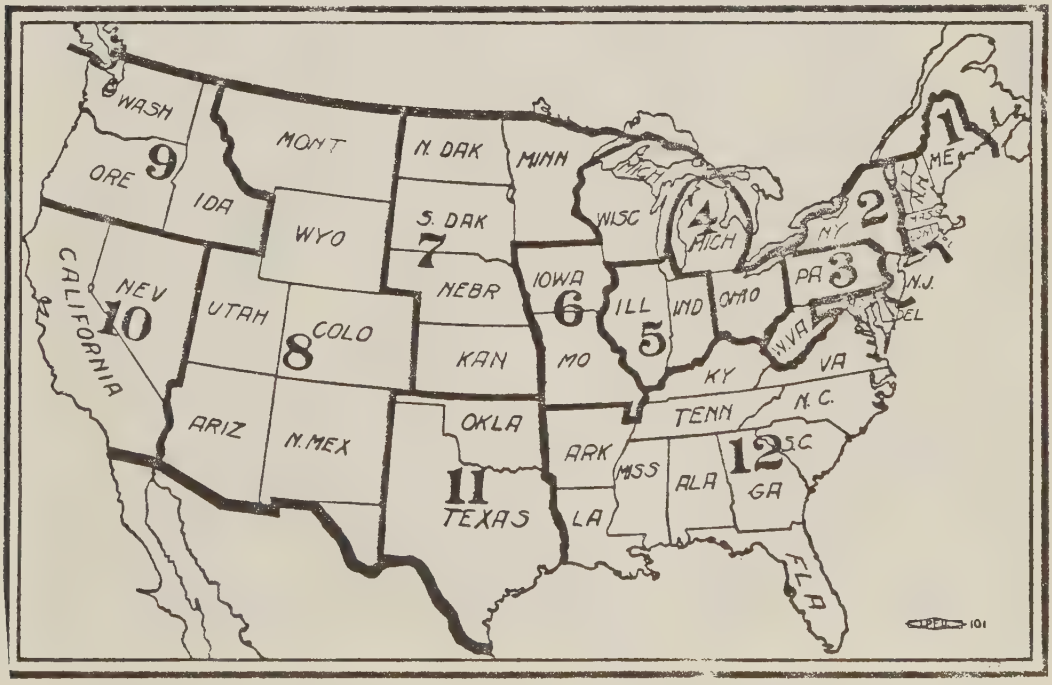
ARTHUR BROOKS BAKER

THE Socialist Lyceum Course is not something to be thrown at the cat. So far as personal gratification is concerned, there is much merit in throwing things. To be fiercely indignant over the wrongs of capitalism, and then coolly calculate the force of a scientific blow you're going to give it eight months hence, may be wise, but it's "against human nature." Human nature at large would rather throw the hair brush right now than use a shotgun next year.

The purpose of the Lyceum Department of the Socialist party is largely to dispel the notion that capitalism is a wicked cat and that the mission of every Socialist is to throw a bootjack at him as occasion may arise. Nothing is left to the inspiration of the moment. Lecturers are engaged, advertising is printed, contracts made with locals, routes mapped out, halls rented, dates fixed, tickets sold, all months in advance.

On account of the campaign, the lectures for this season will not begin until January, 1913, but preparations for the work are now well under way. Sixty regular speakers have been engaged, with more in reserve for emergencies. The accompanying map shows how the country has been divided into twelve circuits, based on party membership, while the engraving and list of names shows the assignment of the sixty speakers into twelve circuits of five lecturers each.

Throughout the entire Lyceum machinery there is a definiteness of plan and purpose which cannot fail to impress and



1. New England.
2. New York, New Jersey.
3. Pennsylvania.
4. Ohio, Michigan.
5. Indiana, Illinois.
6. Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri.
7. Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota.
8. New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana.
9. Washington, Oregon, Idaho.
10. California, Nebraska.
11. Oklahoma, Texas.
12. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Arkansas and the South.



1 William E. Duffy
2 Oscar Ameringer
3 Wm. F. Barnard
4 Dan Hogan
5 James F. Carey
6 Walter J. Millard

W. J. Ghent
George Willis Cooke
N. A. Richardson
Carrie W. Allen
Margaret Prevey
O. F. Branstetter

Florence Wattles
Ella Reeve Bloor
Adolph Germer
Samuel W. Ball
William Bessemer
Dan A. White

Walter Huggins
Emil Seidel
Mary O'Reilly
Ernest C. Moore
John W. Slayton
Wm. E. Rodriguez

Fred Hurst
Geo. H. Goebel
Wm. A. Ward
J. E. Snyder
Wm. L. Garver
Caroline A. Lowe



7	Paul H. Castle	Geo. F. Hibner	Amy G. Edmunds	I. S. McCrillis	John W. Bennett
8	Sidney W. Motley	Lena M. Lewis	Emil Herman	Stanley B. Wilson	G. W. Boswell
9	E. W. Perrin	Robert R. Lamonte	Luella Twining	L. F. Fuller	Robert Knight
10	C. B. Hoffman	Frank Bohn	Ralph Korngold	Janet Fenimore Korngold	W. P. Collins
11	Ernest T. Behrens	Anna A. Maley	W. G. Henry	Clyde J. Wright	Fred C. Wheeler
12	Thos. N. Freeman	Max Wilk	J. L. Fitts	Harry M. McKee	Clyde A. Berry

enthuse all who come into contact with it. Each local is assigned an allotted task on agreed terms, these terms being exactly the same for every section of the United States—a rigidness of system which no capitalist lyceum bureau could even attempt, much less carry out. When the local has sold one hundred and eighty-five dollars' worth of Socialist books and periodical subscriptions it receives, free of cost except hall rent and incidental expense, a lecture course of five numbers. Of all book and subscription sales above $185, the local retains a commission of 40 per cent.

Instead of the inadequate advertising usually supplied by lecturers of all kinds, Socialists being no exception, the Lyceum Department furnishes a generous assortment of dated paper, including six special leaflets for house to house distribution. An elaborate book of instructions is issued, anticipating the thousand and one little difficulties which the local comrades must meet, and pointing out how to overcome them. The result is often the transformation of a weak, puttering local into a strong, systematic band of workers.

Foremost among the carefully studied plans to make work easier for the locals is the book of subscription certificates. Here, neatly bound in a cover of red leatherette, the local lyceum worker finds an announcement of the Lyceum Course, handsomely printed on finest plate paper and attesting by several union labels that it was made by workingmen for the enjoyment of other workingmen. The announcement has been carefully written in simple language, so that even a new Socialist, unfamiliar with our literature and organization, need not be embarrassed in soliciting subscriptions. The titles of the lectures are: (1) The Socialist Challenge. (2) What is Socialism? (3) The Class Conflict. (4) The Socialist Program. (5) The Socialist Movement. These titles are briefly explained so that the average man will understand approximately what the lecturer is to talk about. Following the explanation about the lectures are the pictures of the five speakers, with write-ups telling who they are and what they have done.

Next in the book the worker finds the fifty-cent Subscription Certificates, and to each is attached a Season Ticket for the Lyceum Course. The ticket bears the inspiring design which is reproduced on the Review cover this month. Interleaved with his ticket the worker finds a compact catalogue of Socialist books and papers, from which the purchaser may make his own selection, or, if he desires, may follow the suggestions of the comrade who sells him the Subscription Certificate.

Farther on in the book the worker finds two blank sheets, with a request to write the name and address of everybody to whom he sells a subscription, and to turn this in to the Local Secretary. Several pages of helps and suggestions follow, and in the back of the book are bound, with a perforated stub, two membership application cards, with the significant line,

GET A MEMBER!

This "Get a Member" epitomizes the whole Lyceum, which, while by no means a direct campaign for membership, sets before the community in the most impressive way the Socialist movement and organization and invariably results in increased membership for the locals which use it with anything resembling energy and persistence.

In fact, the spirit of the Lyceum is fully set forth in the title of its new 25-cents-a-year weekly paper, "The Party Builder."

That's what the Lyceum is—a party builder.

Thousands took part in its constructive work last year, and thousands more will participate in it this season.

Get into the sport.

Be a Party Builder.

1,000 at a Crack. Local Portland, Ore., does things on a big scale. When it puts in an order it keeps our shipping department busy. One thousand copies for September is their REVIEW order this time.

THE BUTTE SOCIALISTS

BY

FRANK BOHN

BUTTE is a place which a Socialist worker visits and investigates with a degree of satisfaction which is simply inspiring. The Socialist administration seems to have accomplished a maximum of results under a capitalist system of government of the state and with the backward form of municipal government now obtaining everywhere in America. The work lately described in THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW by the mayor, Lewis J. Duncan has been continued with unvarying success. On July 4th, 1911, there were sixty cases of contagious diseases in Butte. On July 4th, 1912, there were but two cases. In every matter which comes before the government of the city of Butte this question is asked, "Will it benefit the working class?" And their every policy is outlined and pursued with that alone in view.

When conducting their campaigns, the Socialists of Butte have never wavered a moment in their loyalty to principle. The Socialist speakers and writers there went to the working class and said that they ought to carry the city because it would be "a step in the right direction." If they could carry the city now they could carry the state in two years. By carrying the state they would be putting a great political weapon in the hands of the industrial organized working class.

The men of the Butte Miners' Union are industrial unionists in a town which is industrially organized as is no other city on earth. These men saw the present benefits of Socalist political propaganda as a means of working class education and its future benefits in waging the class struggle with the most powerful of trusts they were keen to realize.

During a long day's tramp with Comrade Duncan along the banks of the Yellowstone river, I went with him most carefully into this whole matter of the party's work in Butte. Inevitably I came to the personal questions, "How did it happen that you, a clergyman, and near fifty years of age when you came into the movement, should come 'clear through?'" I could understand how a keen student might forget his theology and how a strong character may overcome his individualism. "But how did you come to understand Socialism from the point of view of the industrially organized men of the Western Federation of Miners?"

"When I came into the Socialist movement," replied Duncan, "I did not come to teach and preach, but to learn and work. I went to those men and asked, "What does Socialism mean to you? What do you wish to do with yourselves, with me and with the country?" I did not even say that I had a point of view. I just listened and learned."

The scholarly young lawyer, Comrade Maury, now serving the Socialist Party as City Attorney, speaks in the same vein. These men have burned their bridges behind them and have avoided the mistakes both in the party and in their work as public officials which have ruined so many well-meaning professional men who have tried to be of service in the Socialist Party and failed.

The working class of Butte knows exactly what kind of Socialist propaganda and what kind of an administration they want and they got it. They didn't say, "We will refuse to employ this man Duncan because he is a preacher and this man Maury because he is a lawyer." But finding that Duncan and Maury understood the working class and the Socialist movement from the point of view of the working class, the proletarian Socialist party local of Butte said, "Duncan and Maury are able and valuable comrades in whose honesty of purpose and strength of character we have every confidence. They couldn't use us if they wanted to. We are going to use them for all they are worth." And so they do.

Another interesting public official in Butte is the City Treasurer, Comrade Clarence Smith, sometime secretary-treasurer

of the old-time American Labor Union. Different from many another labor leader, Smith left that office poor in pocket, but rich in experience. Butte comrades told me that to Smith more than any one else is due the soundness of the movement in Butte and specifically the harmony which has obtained between the industrial and political movements of the working class. Smith knew what to expect and what not to expect from the political movement. When the Socialist officials took office in Butte, the party membership had not been lead to expect that Socialism would be installed the next day. There are no disappointed Socialists in Butte. And there are no factions in the Socialist party in Butte. When the views of individuals do not obtain in the local those individuals know how to be good losers, even if they happen to be the mayor, the city attorney or the city treasurer. The Socialists of Butte know how to run a local and how to run a city chiefly because they know how to run themselves. As late as last year these same city officials were members of an economics class, which used as a text book a work which every Socialist thinks he understands, but which very few have read—"Capital," by Karl Marx. Think of it! Real Socialist city officials meeting with the officials of the biggest and most successful labor union in the world and studying Marx's "Capital." How old fashioned and theoretical!

Thorough industrial organization, revolutionary political propaganda, study classes in Socialist economics, a kindly fraternalism and joy in the service of the movement and an unwavering faith in one another which makes factionalism impossible, unthinkable—such has been the spirit of the movement in Butte and Montana generally. Montana will be carried by the Socialist Party in 1912.



MODERN MACHINERY AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

BY

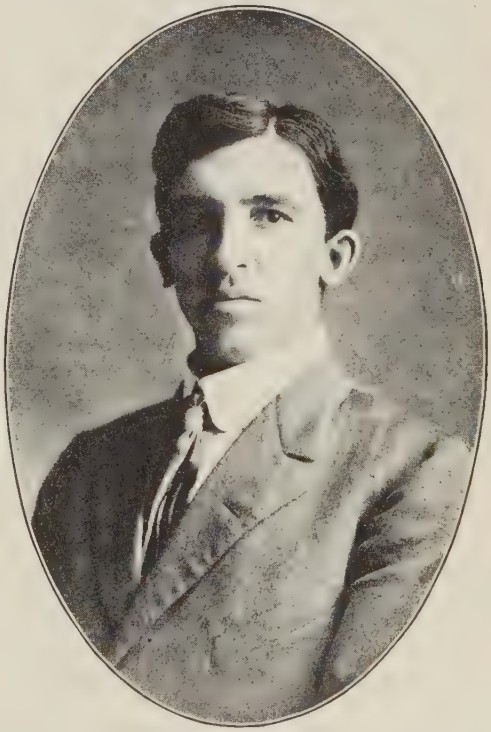
ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

INDUSTRY is progressing toward the automatic stage with such speed that unless one is actually connected with a great department of production and therefore familiar with the remarkable changes which take place almost daily, it is difficult to comprehend the rapidity with which this revolutionary factor is advancing.

There is no other single phase of our industrial development that is fraught with such revolutionary significance. The creation of the perfect automatic machine in one industry has stirred the owners of all other industries to seek a like method of production. And in the industry where, because of the nature of the process of production peculiar to that industry, a single automatic machine cannot complete the whole process, the effort is put forth to so improve the mechanical aids as to arrive at the Irreducible Minimum of Labor.

People outside of industry cannot conceive of the wonderful things being done in the great industries. Inventors are being hired by the week, just like other workingmen. They are set to work on machines and their task is to so improve the machine as to remove the man who now tends it. And the inventors are doing that very thing.

In the Westinghouse Electric Company's great works in Pittsburg, 19,000 men were employed in 1907. Last year they employed 10,000. Now mark the significance of this. With 10,000 men in 1911, that industry turned out a product equal to that produced by the work of 19,000 men in 1907. The army of inventors employed by the Westinghouse Company did its work well. *Improved machinery reduced the necessary working force by almost 50 per cent in four years.*



ROBERT J. WHEELER.

In every other department of industry the same process of elimination is going on. Mechanical marvels are displacing human workers to such an extent that society, in America at least, is being hurried onward toward social revolution.

Skill is being made valueless. Craftsmanship is being abolished. Vocations are being blotted out. Men and women are cast out of occupations by machines. We are arrived at the time when machinery has become the dominant factor in the production of wealth. From now onward, fewer and fewer human beings will be needed in industry.

The Bulletin of Manufacture of the 13th Census contains this significant statement: "During the period from 1899 to 1909, the amount of primary horsepower increased much faster than the number of wage earners. In other words, each wage earner had greater assistance from mechanical power in 1909 than in 1899. The number of wage earners increased 40.4 per cent, while the primary horsepower increased 85.5 per cent," an increase in favor of machinery of over 100 per cent in the short period of ten years. In plain language it means that the human being, as a factor in wealth production, is being supplanted by the machine at a ratio of 2 to 1. The figures for the ten-year period are as follows:

	1909	1904	1899
Primary horse power	18,680,776	13,487,707	10,097,893
Wage earners	6,685,046	5,468,383	4,712,763

	Per Cent Increase.		
	1907	1904	1899-'09
Primary horse power	38.5	33.6	85.5
Wage earners	21.0	16.0	40.4

These statistics tell their own story. Increase of primary horsepower means that human labor power has become inadequate and uneconomical. Just to what degree this is true is difficult to show, but in future articles certain great industries will be studied in detail and facts pertaining to each presented illustrating the rate of displacement in each industry, due to the introduction of machinery.

Such facts as these have tremendous significance. The development to which they relate is destined to work changes in our institutions so remarkable as to be almost beyond the power of imagination to conceive.

The school is our most important social institution. Society expects the school to lead in the work of socialization. But the school system has been, and to a great degree is yet, controlled by men whose conception of industrial development is not clear. The men who manage our educational system are not familiar with the facts of industry. They have a general knowledge of changes going on, but cannot know nor understand the significance of these changes as can those who live in the industries.

Educators, with all their efforts to understand the needs of present-day society; with all their earnestness in the great work they are doing in an endeavor to adapt the educational institutions to the demands of industry; are held and motived by a conception of the purpose of education which belongs to the hand tool era.

For the last twenty years there has been a movement gaining ground in educational circles, called the Manual Training and Industrial Education Movement. This new educational system has gained such popularity that schools designed to give training in mechanics are now being built all over the land. State governments annually appropriate large sums of money to aid in the installation of the new system. Just now there is pending before Congress the Page Bill, a bill to give immense sums of money out of the national treasury to aid the states in this direction. This is a long step in the right direction. It promises a good beginning toward giving the nation a scientific educational system. But this new system is being developed with the idea of preparing the youth for vocations *which are now being destroyed by modern machinery.*

The old vocations are passing away before the advance of modern methods. New machines often obliterate whole departments and render human skill obsolete.

As well might we build wooden warships or old fashioned locomotives as to train the youth for industrial functions which are disappearing.

Automatic machinery is here. It is developing in every industry. Wealth production by automatic machinery will become more and more a reality. Scientists, inventors and efficiency engineers are all working toward that end. From time to time perfect automatic machines will be

brought out; productive processes will be improved until standardization of those processes is accomplished; "efficiency in management" will give industry the "Irreducible Minimum" of labor. The automatic machine, the standard process and the application of scientific systems in management, will enable the world to do all the necessary work without the expenditure of much human labor.

These ideas are not born of theories in the mind of the writer. They are based upon tendencies now working in modern industry. Any person with an open mind who will spend one month in study of the facts will come to similar conclusions. The man who doubts that the ideas set forth in this writing are sound, has only to investigate to be convinced.

Out of all this development must come a new and better economic system. All these wonderful machines and processes and systems must bring blessings to the whole race. Industry is giving the world the means by which poverty, with its attendant evils, may be abolished. Society, as yet, cannot comprehend the marvelous thing. But it is awakening. Men are coming to understand that the system of wealth production and distribution which we call capitalism, having guided the world while these wonders were developing, must now give away to a newer system, a system which will organize the productive and distributive machinery of the world so as to enable all people to enjoy the good that these things make possible.

What of the future of industrial education? The Manual Training and Industrial School, as we know it in operation, is trying to promote industrial efficiency. The youth are being taught the principles of natural science. Also they are training for vocations in life. In the industrial schools craftsmanship is taught.

The economic force back of the new educational movement is the demand for efficiency in the industries, particularly the industries where machinery is not a preponderating factor as yet. The clamor for men who have technical training as well as skill in the use of tools urges the development of the new schools.

We have had the new institutions with us for a period sufficiently long to study results. This is what we find. The youth comes from the school into the shop. He has a good scientific education. All the mechanical principles are as familiar to him as are the principles of mathematics. No matter what task he may be given to do, he is impelled by his training to do it in the easiest, most economical and most efficient manner. He cannot help but seek to improve the machine or the process with which he may be working. He has mastered the arts of draughtsmanship and design as well as the art of tool using. Ideas come to him and he easily puts them into concrete form. Therefore we find a wonderful advance in machine improvement and invention wherever the product of the industrial school is employed in industry. Thus the new school itself is helping to destroy the economic function for which it was created. The youth trained to become a finished craftsman, goes into industry and uses his scientific knowledge to develop machines which destroy craftsmanship.

It is not contended that craftsmanship will not be needed in the future, but that *this need is decreasing as machines improve.*

The new school is become a vital force in society. Its function is to establish in the minds of the youth a fundamental basis for correct thinking. It will teach science from the primary grade to the college. Children trained in the new school will not tolerate superstitious ideas; will not accept as knowledge anything which cannot be verified; will become implacable foes of ignorance and ardent followers of truth.

No other institution in society can do the work demanded of the school. While schools were wholly dominated by theological influences, science could not be freely taught. But now that material influence is in control (that is to say, commercial influence), science is not hampered. The new school must teach the naked truth about everything, because industry will tolerate no mistakes. It demands proof for everything and the proof must be concrete, in the form of engines and dynamos and other instruments of production.

The "Socialization of Humanity" is within sight. The new school is to be the means of bringing it about. When another

generation shall have had training in science which the new school alone can give, rapid social progress may be expected. Having the means of producing abundant wealth, society will organize wealth production so as to make sure that the physical needs of humanity will be provided for. The new system of education will retain its economic function to whatever degree may be necessary as industrial development proceeds. In time it will expand until it is entrusted with the whole work of training youth for life.

Give the children scientific training and not only will they be ready to perform well whatever work society may demand of them, but they will so order their mode of living as to become free from ordinary forms of diseases; from unclean, selfish, lowering ambitions.

Economic security established; scientific training provided; then will it be possible to set about race improvement. The immoralities of the present order—its social evils, are caused by poverty and ignorance. Modern machinery will abolish the one and the industrial school of the future will supplant the other with enlightenment.

AS TO KEIR HARDIE

BY

WILFRID GRIBBLE

I WRITE in support of Haywood's opposition to Keir Hardie being invited to tour this country under the auspices of the Socialist Party of America.

Of course, I recognize that Hardie would be a good "drawing card." That is all the "leaders" and "intellectuals" seem to think about. Get the crowds, get the cash, and let the education of the workers to their class interests go to hell.

The Socialist Party of the states affirms the class struggle, which Hardie both affirms and denies, sometimes in the same sentence. Read these gems of thought culled from an article written by Keir Hardie early in 1904, entitled "An Indictment of the Class War."

"For my own part I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist movement that it is a 'class' war, dependent for its success upon the 'class' consciousness of one section of the community, is doing Socialism an injustice and indefinitely postponing its triumph. It is, in fact, lowering it to the level of a mere faction fight."

Then again in the same article:

"Now, it is not disputed that there is a conflict of interests between those who own property and those who work for wages. The tenant and his landlord and the worker and his employer have interests which lead to inevitable conflict and antagonism, and the object of Socialism is the removal of the causes which produce this antagonism."

Of course, "antagonism" is not "war!"

The unconscious humorist Hardie also writes in the same article: "The working class is not a class; it is the nation."

How does Keir Hardie account for the *working* CLASS unless there is an *idle* CLASS for it to be *classed* with?

Again in this precious article of this *eminent* Socialist (?): "Socialism will come, not by a war of classes, but by economic circumstances forcing the proletariat into a revolt, which will absorb the middle class and thus wipe out classes altogether."

A "revolt" is not a "war," of course.

What beautiful phraseology, and how impressive to those who have never studied Socialism, but to those who have, how pat-

ent it is that the writer of such is either ignorant or treacherous, or both. This writer thinks both. Why? Because Keir Hardie says he learnt his Socialism (?) from the Bible and Shakespeare.

Such a man must be ignorant.

Because he affirmed the class war at the International Socialist Congress, and immediately on returning to England denied it.

Such a man must be treacherous.

I saw Keir Hardie a few years ago in Toronto and he told me that "there was a class war, but it was not expressed by the Socialist movement, but by the trade unions (ye gods!); that the Socialist movement was not a class movement, because there were other than workers in it; that the *labor* members of parliament in Britain were *run* as labor men, but *returned* as Socialists." (How ingenious!)

The very next day he was interviewed by Comrade Weston Wrigley, who was that day reporting a banquet given by the Canadian Club (the swellest club in Toronto) to Keir Hardie, and on being questioned as to the class struggle, Hardie pettishly said: "There is *no* class struggle; you people in Canada and the States are spoiling the movement by insisting on it." This article is long enough now. I have cited enough facts, which I can prove by witnesses, but if necessary can cite many more.

Go to, Keir Hardie; the "leaders" and "intellectuals" may want you this side, but the revolutionists don't; but if you do come —you may depend upon it—you will be put through the mill, as we have too many of your sort this side already.

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and introduces himself upon us as a friend and brother—*him and him alone have we to fear.*

Our fortress can withstand every assault—it can not be stormed nor taken from us by siege—it can only fall *when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow comrade.* Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence. Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength. Whoever fails to understand this or thinks that the class struggle is a dead issue, or that class antagonisms are gradually being effaced, stands upon the basis of bourgeois philosophy.
—Wilhelm Liebknecht.

EDITORIAL

What the Review Stands For

NEVER in all the history of the world was the outlook for the disinherited workers so bright as in this year 1912. That is because there were never signs of so widespread, so intelligent and so determined a revolt as can be plainly seen today. Here in the United States the Socialist Party stands in the forefront of that revolt. We of THE REVIEW, working within and through the Socialist Party, have a definite message which we try to voice from month to month. Usually we connect what we have to say with the passing events of the month, and only those who read our pages continuously understand our position as a whole. This month's issue will reach many new readers. For their benefit, and especially for those who may have been misled by the way in which our opponents have stated our position, we shall now try to make it clear.

I. Modern Slavery.

A vast majority of the American people today are slaves in everything but name. They work to the limit of their strength when they can find a master. For their labor they receive barely a living. By this labor they produce five times as much as comes back to them in wages. Four-fifths of their product is appropriated in various ways by the capitalist class. Part of it is constantly used to enlarge and improve the machinery of production which the capitalists own. As this machinery becomes more efficient, and as the daily product of each laborer becomes greater, an ever larger proportion of this product is taken by the capitalist, and the relative position of the laborer grows worse and worse.

2. Revolutionists and Tories.

This state of things is very much to the advantage of the capitalists. Naturally it seems right to them. They and all whom they can influence through churches, schools, newspapers and other means for shaping "public opinion" are defenders of this system of modern slavery. Every act which makes the system more stable and secure seems "good" and "moral" to the capitalists and their followers. Here in America until lately nearly every wage-worker expected to become a capitalist himself, and therefore accepted capitalist ideas without question. Now, however, class lines are being more closely drawn. The children of capitalists become capitalists, the children of wage-workers become wage-workers. And the wage-workers are developing a morality of their own, in which respect for property plays no part. The more intelligent wage-workers, among whom this new morality is taking shape, we call revolutionists; the capitalists and their allies, who are resisting necessary changes in the structure of society, may be called tories.

3. The Class Struggle.

The struggle between these social classes is the supreme fact of the age in which we live. Ever since the dawn of written history, the majority have toiled in poverty that a privileged few might live in luxury from their unpaid labor. Without this slavery, social progress might not have been possible. But, however, that may be, the productivity of labor has increased so wonderfully that comfort and even luxury for all is easily possible. The one obstacle to a happy life for all is the rule of the capitalist class. Therefore this class must be overthrown. As a class it must be destroyed. To abolish the capitalist class is the historic mission of the working class.

4. Socialist Tactics.

So far nearly every Socialist will agree with what has been said. We now come to the points on which there are sharp differences of opinion among Socialists.

We hold that the ultimate aim of the Socialist Party is or should be to educate and organize the working class for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

As one means to this end, we believe that the Socialist Party should whenever possible nominate candidates for office at every national, state and municipal election, and make every effort to increase the vote as well as the membership of the party.

We do not believe that the revolutionary principles of the party should ever be concealed or obscured for the purpose of winning the votes of people not in sympathy with our ultimate aim.

We believe that the vote of the party should be an accurate index of the number of convinced revolutionists, and that to this end every effort should be made to inform wage-workers and sympathizers as clearly as possible regarding the principles and the ultimate aims of the Socialist Party.

We favor the reforms demanded in the National Platform of the Socialist Party, since they would bring some incidental benefit to the working class. We hold, however, that most of these reforms will prove even more beneficial to the capitalist class, and we expect to see many of them enacted by one of the old parties or some new reform party. We, therefore, deprecate undue emphasis of these reforms in our propaganda, since the political and economic developments of the near future will probably make them out of date.

We call attention to the fact that the political structure of the United States is such as to make it almost impossible for our elected officials to accomplish much in office that will greatly assist the working class in its struggle against the capitalist class; nevertheless we favor electing as many officials as possible and using their power to the fullest extent that may prove practicable.

We see that the principal battlefields of the Social Revolution must be in the shops, mines, factories and fields, and we rejoice that the Socialist platform explicitly urges economic as well as political action.

"Direct Action," as we understand it, is neither more nor less than economic action. We have never advocated an appeal to physical force, since the capitalists control the fighting machinery as well as the machinery of production. We hold, however, that the question of tactics in the economic struggle is one for the unions to decide and that the Socialist Party can only make itself ridiculous by attempting to meddle with it.

We hold that the logic of events is making the industrial form of organization absolutely necessary for laborers making a fight against the great capitalists for higher wages and better working conditions. The anti-Socialist craft unions are rapidly disappearing or becoming revolutionary, and we expect the reorganized revolutionary unions to become the greatest factor in destroying capitalism.

Meanwhile, we regard the Socialist Party with its propaganda and educational work, as the most important revolutionary force now in the field, and we urge every friend of The Review to work through it and help make it more completely representative of the working class.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Italy. The Socialist Reform Party.— The inevitable has happened at last. A large group of reformists, the so-called "rights", have withdrawn from the Socialist Party of Italy and formed a new organization. As a result, thirteen Socialist deputies to the national parliament have resigned their seats and a large number of municipalities, including Rome, are disorganized by reason of the number of resignations. The Socialist Party loses some thousands of members. Yet those who are informed with regard to Italian conditions see in the "split" no misfortune.

For years the movement of the Italian working-class has been crippled by the divisions within the Socialist Party. There were, as there are always, two main divisions, those of revolutionists and reformists; but within these were many subdivisions, each with more or less clearly defined principles and organizations. At party conventions there were always the old conflicts, and in party activity either indecision or opposing and mutually disregarding action on the part of the various groups. So the party has not grown. During the past year, as was shown by the official report at the convention just held at Reggio Emilia, it has lost 2,000 members. Now, it is hoped, the end of the period of bitter internal conflict has been reached. The Italian working-class is filled with the spirit of solidarity, and with a united party there is no apparent reason why its magnificent spirit should not be organized for socialism.

The action of the convention was a foregone conclusion. The Socialist group in parliament has not shown itself submissive to the party mandates. It has not opposed the war against Turkey with any degree of unanimity or energy. When an appropriation bill for military purposes was to be voted upon it was absent. Bissolati, the leader of it, did not accept a post in the ministry, but he has since said that he was sorry he did not do so. The "right" reformists have consistently defended their course of action as the logical one for Socialists who believe in reform. The government of a democratic state, they hold, can as well be the servant of the proletariat as of the capitalists. Any reform brought about through compromise or bargain, they argue, is a step toward this end and is therefore an advance toward socialism. Since the government is not necessarily capitalistic, the entrance of a Socialist into the cabinet means just that much power for the working-class and that much progress in the direction of working-class rule.

This view of Socialist tactics has repelled the majority of Socialists. Even many of the reformists, Comrade Turati for example, have disavowed and denounced it. To be sure the theories of these latter, the "left" reformists, do not differ in kind from those of the "right". But there is a vast difference in degree. The "lefts" believe that under certain circumstances it may be right to enter into election agreements with one of the other parties or do a little bargaining in parliament to push through a reform measure. The "rights" were, in actual practice, so eager to forward their pet electoral reform bill that they either supported or failed to oppose a murderous predatory war. They followed their reformist principles so far that they forgot absolutely the interests of the working-class and the principles of international Socialism. This fact cut them off from the sympathy and support of the majority of the members of the Italian Socialist party.

The formal action which resulted in the formation of the new party was the passage of a motion to expel from the party four of the reformist members of parliament. In connection with the report of the parliamentary group Comrade Mussolini moved that Bissolati, Bonomi, and Gabrini be expelled for congratulating the King on his escape at the

time of the recent attempt to assassinate him, and like action be taken with regard to Podrecca on account of his support of the Turkish war. Of course it is to be taken for granted that the supporters of this motion really had in mind, not only the specific charges mentioned, but all the theories and activities of the men in question. The motion received the votes of delegates representing 12,566 members. The support of 8,883 members were divided between two motions which merely censured the four comrades in various ways and directed them to submit to party discipline in the future. The votes of 2,072 members were withheld. These three figures are held to represent the strength, respectively, of the revolutionists, the "left" reformists, and the "right" reformists. After the balloting all of the "rights" declared that they would withdraw from the party along with the four who had been expelled. They met and formed the new party almost immediately. As soon as possible they will start a daily paper. In the meantime all of their members who hold offices as Socialists have resigned and declared their intention of running again for their old offices as representatives of the Socialist Reform party, as the new organization is called.

The Italian Socialist party has, of course, a tremendous task to perform. Districts which it has controlled for years will have to be fought for anew. The Socialist group in parliament will, no doubt, be considerably cut down. But if the party can have internal peace and a renewed revolutionary spirit, the losses will be more than made up in the near future.

Belgium. The Socialist Party and a General Strike.—The Socialist party of Belgium is about to make one of the most interesting experiments in the history of working-class politics. The victory of the Clericals in the elections of June 2 brought the Socialists face to face with a situation not unlike that which confronts our comrades in Prussia. Within the old electoral system, which gives to many of them only a third of a vote, they find it impossible to secure a majority over the parties of reaction. Campaigns of education are fruitless; the majority has no means of bringing its power to bear on the legislative bodies. In the face of this situation the Socialists of Prussia have simply gone on making gigantic demonstrations and improving their work of agitation in all directions. The Belgians are not so peacefully inclined. This was proved in the first place by the strikes which broke out immediately after the result of the election was announced. It was only through strenuous efforts of the Socialist executive that more serious trouble was averted at that time. And as soon as the will of the workers had time to express itself it was evident that everywhere they favored the calling of a general strike. So a congress of the Socialist party and other interested organizations was called for June 30 at Brussels.

Nearly 1,600 delegates met and spent a day in earnest discussion. Two resolutions were discussed. The first was that of the Executive Committee of the party: It provided for the constitution of a strike committee representing the party, the labor federations and the cooperative associations, and the careful preparation for a strike under the supervision of this committee. The second, presented by Comrade Destree, spokesman for the Federation of Charleroi, ordered the calling of a strike at the time of the special session of parliament in the month of July. The debate was heated but carried on in a spirit indicative of underlying unity of purpose. Comrade Vandervelde, for the Executive Committee, maintained that the strike, to be successful, must be extensive, peaceful, and of long duration. Such a strike, he argued, cannot be brought about overnight. Comrade Destree answered that postponment would fritter away the magnificent fighting spirit which gave evidence of itself in the spontaneous uprisings which occurred early in June. Finally a compromise resolution was introduced and carried unanimously. It provides for the designation of the large strike committee mentioned above and directs that the strike be not declared earlier than the meeting of parliament in regular session in November. The choice of date is to rest absolutely in the hands of the strike committee, with the pro-

vision that a moment shall be selected when the action of the parliamentary majority will give meaning and enthusiasm to the movement. The Socialist deputies are to prepare a resolution looking toward the introduction of a modern electoral law and do their utmost to secure its adoption. It is generally supposed that after they have exhausted parliamentary means to secure their end the strike will be called.

The interesting feature of this situation is not that there is to be a general strike, but that the general strike is being arranged by a political party. The party was organized to operate upon the political field, but it now finds itself up a blind alley. For the present its political activity can lead to nothing: so it resorts to the economic weapon; it starts a movement for the organization of a general strike. Whether it succeeds or fails in the use of its unusual weapon, its efforts will be watched with deepest interest by Socialists of other lands.

France. The Maritime Strike.—The strike of French sailors is still on. In one or two of the smaller ports men have gone back to work. In some cases they have capitulated; in others their demands have been granted. But in the chief ports, such as Havre and Marseilles, the strikers are standing firm. At Dunkirk the government set 400 troops to unload vessels which had been deserted by the regular dockers. In addition a strike-breaking concern known as "The Right to Work" was hired to defend non-union men and stir up trouble. It succeeded. The troops fired on the strikers and wounded eight of them. This event served to close the ranks of strikers in other towns.

Many vessels are lying idle in all the ports of France. Others are putting to sea with short crews of inexperienced men. The companies show no sign of capitulating. It is interesting to note that the concerns receiving subventions from the government are more obdurate than any others. It is evident that in every way possible the government is trying to break the strike.

France. Herve at Liberty.—On July 16 the French ministry decided to set at liberty Gustave Hervé and five others who have been held in prison for crimes similar to his. Hervé, it will be remembered, was cast into prison something over two years ago for denouncing the proceedings of the government in the case of a certain Liabeuf. Liabeuf was found guilty of murdering a policeman and sentenced to death. Hervé investigated the case and found that the condemned was a young workingman who had been hounded by the police on one pretext or another until he committed murder in revenge. In an editorial published in La Guerre Sociale he denounced the police and called the execution a murder. For this he was sentenced to four years in prison. Now the government, without any apparent reason, has set him free. With as little reason a large number of other prisoners are kept behind the bars.

A Revolutionary Mayor.—The Socialist mayor of Brest, Hyppolyte Masson, made himself famous on July 14, the national holiday of the French. Brest is one of the great centers of French militarism, and there the national fête day is celebrated with a great military and naval review. What were the Mayor and his colleagues in the municipal council to do? Neither they nor the great majority of the people of Brest wished to make a demonstration for militarism. Yet you could hardly expect a French population to stay away from a celebration.

The Socialist Mayor got out of the difficulty nicely. He had the walls of the city placarded with official posters, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," and all. But the text of these official posters was wonderful to read. In it the Mayor explained that he and his Socialist supporters had nothing against the soldiers, that the soldiers are sons and brothers of the working people, that the nation suffers under its load of military burdens, etc., etc.—all quite in the style of a Socialist platform. Toward the end occurred this passage, notable in a public document: "And our internationalism, far from wishing to betray France to a foreign power, prepares, in coöperation with the Socialists of England, Germany and other countries, for the establishment of the United States of Europe, in which all the na-

tions, reconciled under the red flag of the international, may at last, each according to its own natural character, work out its ideal of social justice." And the whole concludes with an appeal to the soldiers not to forget their duty to the people in case the workers are driven to revolt.

Having made this declaration to the soldiers and to the world, the Socialist Mayor of Brest, followed by his people, went to see the maneuvers on the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile. In this case there would seem to be no doubt about the desirability of having a Socialist municipal government.



SUNDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST MEETINGS, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.
Comrade Scott Bennett, Lecturer.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Statement of a Delegate on the Barnes Case

BY

MARGUERITE PREVEY

AVE read most of the articles both for and against the recall of J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. This morning I received marked copy of the *National Socialist* calling for a defense fund to fight the Barnes case. In the same issue there appears an article by Victor Berger in which he calls all those who differ with him Anarchists, Free Lovers, and Eugene V. Debs an unqualified egotist. Now Comrades, calling names is no argument; that is only the refuge of people who have something to hide, and the something to hide in this case is the evidence taken in the infamous Barnes case, both at the hearing before the Investigating Committee, elected by the National Committee over a year ago and again at the hearing before the National Executive Committee at Chicago last August, with the result that J. Mahlon Barnes resigned as National Secretary, and his resignation was accepted by the National Executive Committee. Comrades, if the evidence taken in this case was such that Barnes could no longer be retained as National Secretary with credit to the party, how comes it that he should now be retained as an official?

I submit that the National Committee voted upon the report of the Investigating Committee without hearing or receiving copies of the evidence taken at that time. I was present at the trial held in Chicago last August and heard the evidence taken before the National Executive Committee and know something about the case. And it was because I did know something about it, that I protested at Indianapolis against the selection of Barnes as Campaign Manager and also against the re-opening of the case. If the other delegates had listened to the evidence taken at the trial, I know he never would have received enough votes to elect him.

I stated in my speech objecting to Barnes, that with Barnes as Campaign Manager, we could not carry on a unified and vigorous campaign; the present turmoil in the party proves I was correct.

If any one can be accused of disrupting or aiming to disrupt the party, it is Morris Hillquitt, who deliberately opened the Barnes case by stating that "we owed Barnes reparation," etc. This case had already caused dissenion in the party and has cost the party an enormous sum of money for Special Committees, witnesses, etc., and also the valuable time of our National Executive Committee, their railroad fare, hotel bills, and per diem, while the party paid it all.

Comrades, this it not a question of political versus direct action. The question before the party members is: "Is it to the best interest of your party to continue J. Mahlon Barnes as Campaign Manager?" Don't permit any one to befog the issue. Let us have the evidence; calling names won't settle the question.

I trust the members of the National Committee will take immediate action and have the evidence printed so the members may know what it is all about.

This Thing Must Be Settled.—Four members of the National Executive Committee held up the Branon, Tex., referendum in regard to the Barnes case by another trick typical of the reactionary type of mind, which believes that a mass movement or a popular demand can be stayed or defeated by a little manipulation. Voting on the disposition of the Barnes affair was already well under way when Morris Hillquit suddenly made a motion that the Branon referendum be officially investigated and that voting be suspended until a report could be made to a special session of the N. E. C. Spargo, Berger and Harriman supported this motion, Haywood opposing it, and Irvine and O'Hare not voting. Thus will the party be put to additional heavy expense in putting out the referendums initiated by Locals Portsmouth, O., or Poplar Bluffs, Mo., and Heaven knows Barnes has already been of enough expense to the party. Thus the

majority members of the N. E. C. bid defiance to that large section of the party membership which has demanded Barnes' recall, since there is absolutely nothing in the party constitution that allows the National Executive Committee either to initiate or suspend a party referendum, no matter on what grounds. Thus the National Executive Committee arbitrarily suspends a referendum, just as the Committee on Constitution arbitrarily took it upon itself to propose the election of a campaign manager at the Indianapolis convention in the first place. As National Secretary Work has already pointed out, the referendum demanding Barnes' recall is **"legal even if the Brancn letter should prove to be fraudulent.** See Article 11 of Constitution. The fact that two other proposals received the required number makes it **doubly so.** Besides, Barnes tells me that **he will not question its legality."** But Barnes is a friend and ally of Hillquit, Spargo, Berger and Harriman; therefore they have decided that he shall be kept on the job at all costs. They seem perfectly willing to permit the party to be rent with dissension before they will allow a member of their machine to be ousted from his job, which for some unknown reason pays more even than that of the national secretary.

The REVIEW in its July issue charged that Barnes was shoved upon the party as campaign manager by trickery. Since that time there have been various elaborate explanations and statements on the part of Hillquit and his allies. The official minutes of the National Convention have been corrected and Hillquit now contends they prove his assertion that he made the nomination of Barnes as an individual. But even the plausible Hillquit cannot deny the damning fact that in the second sentence of his nominating speech at Indianapolis, as quoted by himself in his own personal statement (See page 164 of the August REVIEW) he said: "I wish to say that my **colleagues on the National Executive Committee** and on the **several preceding committees** are **UNANIMOUS** in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade **Barnes."**

This nominating speech was made, be it noted, despite the rule adopted at the opening of the convention that no nominating speeches should be made. Not even the speaker who named Debs for the presidential nomination was allowed to say a half a dozen words in his behalf.

The REVIEW repeats its original charge: that Morris Hillquit deliberately misled the delegates at Indianapolis into thinking that the National Executive Committee and other committees had already had the matter of Barnes for campaign manager under discussion and had approved of him for the job, whereas at the next meeting of the N. E. C. two members went on record with the statements that the matter of Barnes as campaign manager had never been discussed in their presence.

Are Hillquit and his colleagues afraid to let the matter go before the party membership for settlement? It would seem so, judging by the motion to suspend the voting. But the case cannot be decided in any such way. In the words of Debs, "we may indulge in vain regrets but we cannot escape the issue. It will not down and its demoralizing effect is already but too apparent upon the national campaign."

For his part in urging that the Barnes case be submitted to the party membership for decision, Comrade Debs seems to have displeased the machine that has grown up in our officialdom very, very much. Through his official paper at Washington Congressman Berger informs us that **"many intelligent Socialists have long known that Gene suffers from an unduly exaggerated ego."** If such is the case Comrade Berger and his other "intelligent Socialists" ought to have informed the more ignorant previous to the national convention so that proper measures could have been taken to prevent the nomination of Debs for the presidency—for the fourth time. The same organ, in speaking of Debs editorially, prophesies that "after the 5th of November some plain words will be addressed to him." When this threat is carried out and those "plain words" are addressed to our Gene we trust he will simply lay them before his fellow members of the Socialist party. Unless we are greatly mistaken, they will make answer for him and that quickly.

The truth is that there has grown up in the Socialist party in recent years an official machine—a machine that looks upon the Socialist party as an organization merely for the playing of opportunist politics with a working-class label attached to it. It is this machine or its supporters who actually barred Debs from making propaganda speeches in California because he is an uncompromising advocate of revolutionary Socialism. It is this machine which, by the gum-shoe methods of the old party politicians, sought to prevent the nomination of Debs at Indianapolis. It is this machine which is now trying its utmost to becloud the issue by identifying the demand for the recall of Barnes with anarchy, disruption, smallpox, hay fever, blood, murder, chilblains and sudden death. It is this machine which is now determined to keep Barnes, who belongs to it, in an official position at all costs. But democracy in the Socialist party must be preserved, even if it has to be fought for. The Barnes case must be settled, not by intriguers on the National Executive Committee, but by the vote of the party membership.

Meanwhile let us not forget, as we seem to be in danger of forgetting, that the controversy between party members is absorbing energy which is urgently needed in the work of Socialist education and propaganda. Let us vote promptly on the Barnes case and drop the matter. Next May, when the reorganized National Committee meets, will be the time to settle questions of tactics. The next ten weeks are the one time in four years when American wage-workers are most likely to listen to our message. We have been wasting time; let us make up for lost time now.

From Gustavus Myers. It is with profound regret that we have read a communication from Comrade Gustavus Myers describing the action taken by Local New York against him. It seems that some three years ago Comrade Myers had a personal altercation in his local. This has now been made the basis for his suspension. Comrade Myers states that the real cause of his suspension has been the strong position he has taken with regard to party tactics. While the REVIEW cannot give space to charges made by any member against his local we wish to draw attention to the larger significance of this matter. The very last thing which the membership must permit at the present time is the persecution of comrades. Let everybody speak his mind and let the majority realize that freedom of speech is the most fundamental civilized right we possess. No one, no matter what his views may be, should leave the party because his opinions do not prevail, and no one should be expelled from the party because of his opinions so long as they consist with the principles and purposes of the Socialist party. In the case of Comrade Myers we are certain that a majority of the members of Local New York will see that justice is done if the matter be laid before them properly. When we all come to place the interests of the movement above all personal considerations whatsoever, the progress of the party will not be endangered by any arguments, however serious and intense they may become.

Sure. "My standing order reads for 20 copies of the REVIEW. Please make it 25 copies until further notice."—Adam Hill, Newsdealer, Everett, Wash.

From Australasian Labor Federation, Brisbane District Council. Dear Comrade.—With intense fraternal interest, the members of above council have learned from that invaluable magazine, "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW," of the great battle, fought and won, by the I. W. W. in Lawrence, Mass., U. S. A., against the great cotton and woolen octopus. In view of the foregoing, I have on behalf of this body, representatives of Queensland unionists, to offer you heartfelt congratulations on the magnificent fight you put up, on behalf of our World wide movement, on that memorable occasion; further, to hope that such a victory will stimulate those who took part to, if possible, greater effort in the future, and to those workers who have been blind to their class interests in the past to become class conscious and join with their comrades in the fight for economic freedom.

I have to mention that nothing was seen in the capitalistic press here of the good fight you were putitng up, obviously for the reason that the greatest industrial upheaval that ever was seen in Brisbane was taking place at the same time, and to know that you were fighting "the one common enemy" with success would have been good cheer for us. We were fighting to save the Tramway union, and in doing so we had to tackle the Queensland State Government, with police, special police, mostly beer bums, thieves, thugs and other parasites. Again offering you our heartfelt thanks, and success to the one big union, for and on behalf of the above council, I am, dear comrade,

Yours faithfully,
JOHN A. MOIR, Secretary.

Protest by United Mine Workers. Whereas, Joseph J. Ettor and A. Giovannitti have been imprisoned for being accessories before the fact in the killing of a striker at Lawrence, Mass., and

Whereas, these men have proven beyond the shadow of a doubt by reliable witnesses that they were not near the scene of said crime when committed, and further that they could have no possible motive in contributing to the murder of one of their fellow strikers, and

Whereas, it is evident that the mill owners in Lawrence, Mass., and the enemies of freedom and progress elsewhere, are desirous of wreaking vengeance upon these men because of their activity in the recent Lawrence strike, and because of the success of said strike in promoting better wages and working conditions for the enslaved mill operatives of Lawrence, Mass., therefore be it

Resolved, by the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America, representing 300,000 coal miners, that we protest against the false imprisonment of these men who are held without bail, and request that they be given an immediate trial, when we feel satisfied the conspiracy against the lives of these men will be fully exposed. And be it further

Resolved, that we send a copy of this resolution to the Governor of Massachusetts, and that a copy be also given to the press.

FRANK J. HAYES,
PAUL J. PAULSON,
THOS. HAGGERTY,
Committee.

Comrade Cothran, secretary of the local in darkest San Diego, is among those who increased his order for August REVIEWS.

Best Yet. "Enclosed find money order for $2.00 for which send me 10 copies of the REVIEW each month. The REVIEW is the best Socialist publication yet and is making good strikes." On with the REVIEW!—Comrade Lane, California.

In Demand in New Zealand. "Please send us another bundle of REVIEWS. Two dozen copies for 12 months, for which please find money order enclosed."—Comrade Whyte, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Micrometer, No. 8, is another lodge of the Brotherhood of Machinists in Brooklyn that orders a bundle of REVIEWS for its members. The number of labor organizations which take the REVIEW for its educational value is steadily increasing. They say they like the REVIEW because it discusses the Socialism of the shop as well as the platform.

The Only One. "Your magazine is the only paper I and my comrades care to read."—Comrade Podersen, Iowa.

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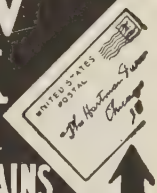
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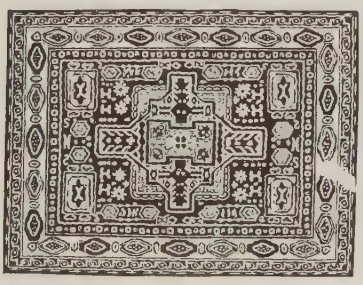
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No Yellow Streak in Haywood. Editor REVIEW: Being a constant reader of the REVIEW, the fighting magazine of the working class, and desirous of meeting the uncompromising invincible Haywood, who seems to be a thorn in the side of some of our intellectual and professional reform Socialists, I purchased a ticket to the Haywood lectures held in Norfolk and Portsmouth. A large crowd was in attendance to hear the indomitable Haywood, who dares to speak what he thinks upon the class struggle. No chloroform was used.

He is one of our boys; and oh, for a hundred more Haywoods in the Socialist party. He was there with the biscuits, and he fired them red hot out of the oven, the audience caught them on the fly and yelled for more, and as his torrents of molten eloquence rolled forth in an incandescent flood the crowd drank in every word as the dry desert sand drinks in the dews of heaven, and they went home irrigated and refreshed. If any adverse element was there it disappeared before the intrepid onslaught of Haywood's eloquence and logic. It was engulfed and disappeared beneath the surface of oblivion without leaving even the distinction of a ripple.

There are some persons who can solve the perplexities of life with an arbitrary decision. They are immune from conscientious scruples and impervious to adverse criticism. They see only the obstacles that block their progress, and they sweep it aside with a ruthless disregard as to whom it may bruise or maim. This is typical of the beast of the jungle when it fastens upon its helpless prey. They are the individualists who, under present conditions, are capable of achievement, and whom society glorifies.

There are others who look beyond the obstacles of their own success. Bill's experience in the great class conflict permits him to survey the field for long distances of time and space. He sees the roads choked with weary toilers, with disheartened men and tired women, with wan little children robbed of the sunlight and fresh air, of their health and their childhood, their growth and their future manhood. He sees the monstrous injustice of social conditions that crush the weak and helpless in order to exalt the strong and vicious. He sees the tear stained faces and aching hearts, strong men abandoning the struggle in despair, weak women continuing against insurmountable odds, he hears the agonizing shrieks of the myriad toilers who are daily caught in the iron fangs of resistless machinery, their bones mangled and crushed, their flesh lacerated and torn, and their bleeding, quivering bodies cast on the scrap heap without any ado—in order that the few may achieve success the great mass are trampled upon with a callous indifference, their mute appeal and supplicating prayers falling upon stony hearts.

Bill says what he thinks and thinks what he says. He has no time to throw away in order that Socialism may appear "respectable," and cheap respectability at that. Long live Comrade Haywood.

Yours for the revolution,
WILLIAM GATH,
3603 Huntington Avenue,
July 29, 1912. Newport News, Va.

Hamilton, Ont., is one of the latest Canadian locals to come in with an order for a monthly bundle of REVIEWS. The Canadian comrades as a whole care little for anything but revolutionary Socialism. The literature they order is that dealing with sound Marxian economics and "Value, Price and Profit" is a great favorite on the other side of the border. They are laying a foundation for a sound revolutionary movement in Canada, the results of which are bound to show in the near future.

Won't Miss It. "If you will notify me so I can renew my sub, without missing a copy of the REVIEW I will thank you very much, as I do not want to miss your most valuable fighting magazine."—Comrade Gordon, Indiana.

From a Veteran. "I send you $1 for the REVIEW and some Debs and Seidel postcards. About seven years ago I joined the Socialist army for life and until the war is over I am on the firing line. I am 64 years old. They have nominated me for county and probate judge in this county."—Comrade Bundren, Arkansas.

In One Delivery of mail arrives 20 subscriptions at the special rate of four for 6 months at $1 from Comrade Johnsen, of Ohio; Weaver, of Kansas; Taylor, of Minnesota; Loliger, of Pennsylvania, and Brogan, of Idaho. This offer is good until election day.

From the Elyria Reds. Local Elyria is always on the firing line. The latest report comes from Elizabeth Flynn, which tells of a splendid Ettor Giovannitti protest meeting addressed by her on Wednesday, August 7th, and arranged by the Socialists and I. W. W. locals. Over $25.00 was taken in from the sale of a small red card which bore the following inscription:

"This is to certify that the bearer has contributed 10 cents to PREVENT THE LEGAL MURDER OF JOSEPH ETTOR and ARTURO GIOVANNITTI, who offered their lives for the Lawrence strikers, thereby entitling him to membership in Humanity's "LEGION OF HONOR." The local papers carried a half column front page story of the meeting.

If the Socialist party had more locals like Elyria we would soon put the capitalist system out of business.

Local Kings Co., N. Y., Br. 1. Enclosed you will find check for eight (8) dollars for which please send 2,000 copies of "The Shrinking Dollar."

Please send these at your earliest convenience. We are covering the entire Assembly District with this pamphlet and we need these additional copies to complete the job.—C. W. Cavanaugh, Organizer.

The following resolutions were adopted by Local Toledo, Sunday afternoon, August 4th.

To the Members of the National Executive Committee and the National Campaign Committee:

Whereas, J. Keir Hardie is not a member of the British Socialist Party and

Whereas, he was elected to Parliament on the Independent Labor Party ticket and

Whereas, Keir Hardie voted for a measure to give women property-holders in England the ballot, which is contrary to the position of the International Socialist Party which stands for unrestricted suffrage for women, and

Whereas, J. Keir Hardie did not raise his voice in protest when Victor Grayson, the only Socialist who ever sat in the British Parliament, was ousted from that body because he dared to represent the unemployed,

Whereas, it is a well-known fact that Keir Hardie is not a revolutionist but a political trader, and

Whereas, he can only be brought to this country at a great expense to our party and in the light of the fact that we have speakers in this country who unequivocally stand for and talk the principles of Revolutionary Socialism and the class struggle, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Toledo Socialist Party, in general party meeting assembled, that we protest against the action of the National Executive Committee and National Campaign Committee in deciding to bring Keir Hardie to this country and route him and that we call upon these committees to reconsider their action and cancel the engagement.

Be it resolved that a copy of these resolutions be printed in the September National Bulletin.

William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn
have written THE propoganda book of the year—
INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM
It contains the heart and meat of the whole revolutionary movement in a nutshell. It will put the worker on the right road. He won't have to travel all through the Middle Ages to find out what we want. The shortest, straightest cut to an understanding of Socialism. 10c a copy, $1 a dozen, $5 a hundred, express prepaid
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ENDORSEMENTS BY ORGANIZED LABOR—"Beneficial to the entire labor movement."—Central Federated Union, N. Y. City. "These speeches are of great historic value."—Executive Board of Bakery Workers. "They should be read by the entire working class."—Executive Board, Brewery Workers. "I bespeak for Mrs. Parsons every courtesy and assistance by organized labor everywhere."—John H. Walker, President District 12, United Mine Workers of America. "Mrs. Parsons recently addressed a meeting of the Iron City Trades Council (Pittsburgh, Pa.) and was very well received."—Francis Feehan, President District 5, U. M. W. of A. *Price, 35c; Bound, 80c.*

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Reply to Hillquit and Berger by an Old-Time Socialist. In your last (August) number, I read Comrade Morris Hillquit's "Self-Defense," which forces me to a personal answer to him. He says he is 24 years in the Socialist movement. I am almost twice as long in it, because it is now over 43 years; and I was appointed by the Socialist convention held in Baltimore, Md., at Christmas time in the year 1883 as their sergeant-at-arms; this is over 28 years ago. I also joined Karl Marx's International Workingmen's Association yet before the start of the Parisian Commune in 1871. A school mate of mine became a bookseller and publisher, so I bought from him anyhow 200 florins' worth of scientific works explaining all kinds of isms before I joined our party, and was barely two years in it when my comrades elected me a member of the Central Committee of Hungary.

From this even the shortest minded Socialist will comprehend that I therefore became right from the start a RED one, and will never turn yellow, even if I should be persecuted in the severest way by the many ignoramuses (or traitors?) in our ranks. I was persecuted enough abroad as a "leader of the rebels;" but still more blacklisted in this so-called free country as a "professor of anarchists," because I could not help it and talked class struggle to my fellow workers. I bet Comrade Hillquit will never be persecuted in that way, for what he and his ilks are doing is very much liked by our enemies of labor; therefore, any sane comrade will understand why capitalistic papers declare our party a "conservative" one.

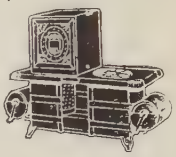
Comrade Hillquit says only since this last Indianapolis convention the REVIEW caused such scurrilous, etc., attacks on him. Now, I never contributed a single line to it, but Comrade Hillquit's attack forces me from my quietness in our ranks and to defend the true-heartedest fighting paper of our movement here in the United States.

Comrade Hillquit says that nobody ever had anything against him before. Now I want to tell him to his face that I am very disgusted with his actions *for a long time;* the most disgusted I felt when he put his report of our movement at the International Socialist Congress held a row of years ago in Amsterdam, Holland. I never read a more silly document in all my lifetime; I bet the most simple delegate even from Bulgaria could not produce such a document. Who does not know anything about it may just ask Comrade Ernest Untermann, one of our best writers and translator of Karl Marx, and he will be able to relate more yet about "comrade" Hillquit's actions than I, for he has been at that time a member of our National Executive Committee. It is no wonder that such actions of our Nat. Ex. Com. drove Comrade Untermann to resignation. And now the majority of that executive committee is **still worse** than it was at that time.

I would have said several times in some of our party papers something about different crookednesses of some of our so-called party "leaders," but not a *single one of them dared to publish the truth.* It seems that throughout

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our party organization exists the same slogan of a gray-haired fellow worker of mine in a machine shop: "It is no use in this country to find fault with a boss!" Now, abroad in my youth I sent 17 letters to our state office, and every one was published in our party paper. One of them related some very dirty actions of one of our members; but it was published just the same. Here in this "free country" that would have been a lese majeste.

Dear comrades all over the United States, please *read more* and all the sides of the labor question, then you will *know more,* and that will also *benefit our cause.*

Don't try to be nice to our enemies, the capitalist class. Then you will discover the "skunks," as Comrade Haywood for a long time calls them, in our ranks the sooner, and throw on the muck heap. It would be better to recall "comrade" Hilquitt and his ilks from our National Executive Committee and put in their stead real, true-hearted *revolutionary Socialists,* as our comrades abroad are doing.

ANTHONY TITTEL.

834 East First street, Stockton, Cal.

P. S.—Just now I read the "National Socialist" of the 3d inst., which forces me to add several more lines to my writing above. I would have never dreamed such an infamy could be put in print by "Comrade" Victor Berger, as he did it right on the first page of that paper. Already at our state convention here, held over a couple of years ago in San Jose, Cal., I recited over half a dozen dirty acts committed by "comrade" Berger, asking my fellow delegates to do something in order to stop such "conservatism," but no one of those yellows *dared even to answer* a single word to my proofs.

"Comrade" Berger declares Comrade Debs to be "an unduly exaggerated ego." If Berger had only one-tenth of the spirit of Comrades Debs, Haywood and others, our cause would be in better standing in the whole United States.

And, then, the "National Socialist" says: "Why did 'Appeal to Reason' print one side of case only?" In all the long time I am in the United States not a single yellow Socialist paper ever dared to print the side of the truth; and now they want to discredit the character of the "Appeal to Reason" because it is not willing to become their lackey!

I am a poor fellow; for over a dozen years I was declared an "old man," consequently was not able to subscribe for the REVIEW; but now I will scrape my pennies together and keep it to my last breath, but will not subscribe any more to a yellow paper even if I could get it for a single cent the whole year.

I am a strict follower of Karl Marx, and the yellows declare it "anarchism." I accept that name. As a mere boy of 18 years I became a free thinker, so I do not kick against the naming me an "atheist." Three boys and one girl of school ages are calling me "grandpa," so I am proud to be a "free lover."

I voted "Yes" in Referendum "C."

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Name.....*Address*.....

Town.....*State*.....

References Required

To the Officers and Members of Delaware County Local S. P. of Pennsylvania: Whereas, Morton Branch has received from your secretary, One Day Wage Fund Cards purporting to come from a person giving his name as J. Mahlon Barnes and claiming to be "National Campaign Manager," and

Whereas, we have never been allowed to nominate or take part in electing any such officer . . . Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, as members of Morton Branch, Delaware County, Local S. P. of Pennsylvania, solemnly protest against J. Mahlon Barnes, or any other man or set of men, assuming the authority to collect and disburse moneys in the name of the Socialist party of America without the consent of the members of that party as expressed by a referendum vote.—Albert Vernon, Chairman; A. S. Foss, Recording Secretary.

Socialists of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, in convention assembled this date at Morton, Pa., do adopt the following:

Whereas, the National Convention have created a campaign committee and a campaign manager and named the incumbent, and said action concurred in by the National Executive Committee without submitting the same to a referendum vote of the party;

Therefore, Be it Resolved, That this convention condemn the action of the National Executive Committee.

And be it Further Resolved, That we demand the recall of the said incumbent and the submitting of the whole question to a referendum vote.

A. J. VERNON, Chairman,
FRANK GREENWOOD,
ERNEST C. MAGNIER, Secty.

Comrade Brundage, of Washington, orders a bundle of REVIEWS and says he is putting them on the news-stands. Quite a number of comrades are trying this plan of getting the biggest Socialist monthly before the general reading public and express themselves as surprised and pleased at the results.

Wants an Increase. Enclosed find money order to increase the number of copies of the REVIEW from 10 copies to 20 for the month of September. We are doing some good propaganda work here in the way of distributing leaflets and papers. But I am going to improve on this good work if possible.—Comrade Brown, Fayette City, Pa.

Local Richmond, Va. Find enclosed P. O. Money Order for $4.00 for which mail at once 350 "Breaking Up the Home," 350 "What to Read on Socialism," 300 "The Shrinking Dollar."

I read Mrs. Marcy's pamphlet when it was printed in the REVIEW, it is fine and true to life, being nearly sixty-eight years of age, I remember well many of the conditions prevailing over half a century ago and can therefore appreciate it. Comrade Kerr's pamphlet is about the slickest thing I know of, combining, as it does, good, sound propaganda matter with the best advertising scheme conceivable.—Jno. T. Chappell.

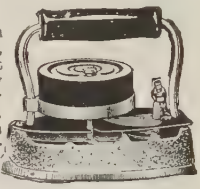
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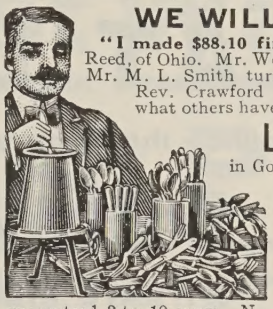
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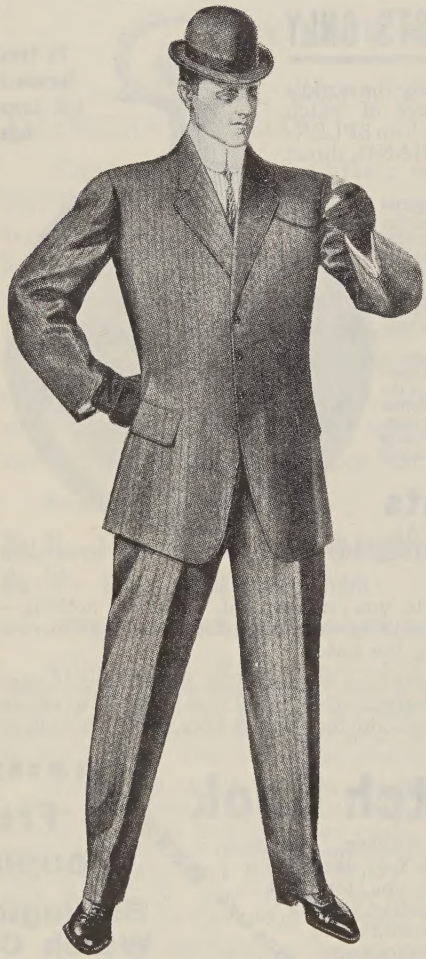
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